HANDICRAFTS SURVEY MONOGRAPH

ON

DOKRA ARTISANS
OF
DARIAPUR (BURDWAN)

On the basis of collaboration between
Director of Cottage & Small-Scale Industries, West Bengal,
Director, Regional Design Centre, All India Handicrafts Board, Calcutta,
Director of Census Operations, West Bengal (Social Studies Section) and the Language Division and Social Studies Division of Registrar General, India.

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HANDICRAFTS SURVEY MONOGRAPH ON

DOKRA ARTISANS OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN)

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DOKRA ARTISANS OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN)

Primary Investigations	Field-level Extension Officer (Industries) of the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia and a few Officers of Survey Wing and Handicrafts Wing of C & SSI Directorate.
Primary notes on Process of Production	Shri P. Sen, Director, Regional Design Centre, Calcutta.
Report on Linguistic Investigations	Shri R. A. Singh, Language Division of Registrar General, India at Calcutta under the guidance of Shri R. C. Nigam, Linguist of that office.
Final verifications in artisan's localities, Supplementary Investigations, Case Studies, Final Draft, Editing and Supervision	Shri A. N. Mukherjee, Deputy Director of Industries, Community Development Project, Government of West Bengal.
Supervision of Printing and Publication	Shri S. Sinha, Deputy Director of Census Operations, West Bengal.

FOREWORD

THIS REPORT on Dokra artisans of Dariapur in the district of Burdwan and Purulia of West Bengal by Shri A. N. Mukherjee is the result of much fruitful collaboration between the Directorate of Cottage and Small Scale Industries, West Bengal ; the Director of Census Operations, West Bengal ; the Language Division and Social Studies Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India and the Regional Design Centre at Calcutta. The report covers not only the establishments of the artisans of Dariapur in Burdwan, but also gives an indication of the existence of such units in the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapore and Purulia. An attempt has been made to show the nature of the shaky social position of the artisans in the local community. The individual and group characters of the artisans have also been brought out through a number of case studies. A very important contribution to this study has been made by Shri R. A. Singh, Senior Technical Assistant of the Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India, through this investigation, under the guidance of Shri R. C. Nigam, Linguist, on the linguistic affinitiees of the Dokra artisans.

My thanks are due to all the scholars who have collaborated in the completion of this project. I also avail of this opportunity to express my gratitude to the Director of Cottage and Small Scale Industries, West Bengal, who was good enough to allow Shri Mukherjee and his colleagues to take up this project at the request of the office of the Registrar General, India.

ASOK MITRA
Registrar General, India

DOKRA ARTISANS OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN)

A Glance

1. The report, together with an Appendix, throws some light on the technique, economy, language and social life of the small community of hollow-casting artisans of Dariapur (Burdwan) in the background of similar small communities in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia.
2. The communities of all these districts (excluding Purulia and including Rampur only of Bankura) have been found to be migratory for lack of living facilities.
3. Although, such artisans are so far known as "Dokras", field investigations may justify in identifying their communities in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Midnapore as "Malar", but would suggest further probe into their community identification and social linkages between themselves in particular reference to the traces at Singhbhum (Bihar) and Mayurbhanj (Orissa).
4. The report suggests the immediate need for permanent settlement of the artisans' groups as viable Co-operative Units under constant technical and management guidance, should not, again, the small communities migrate and are lost, only to be recognised a new in unknown places, whereas, the local people of earlier locations could show a few casting pieces and would complain of their debt and lack of whereabouts.
5. As their products have been selling in foreign countries now and their mastercraftsmen have been national award winners, further care is needed.

A. N. Mukherjee
Deputy Director of Industries (CDP),
Cottage & Small Scale Industries Directorate,
Government of West Bengal.

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Dated, Calcutta,
The 30th March, 1968

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Preface

THE ARTISANS' products studied in the Report are brass-metal cast pieces done in "lost-wax" process, having traditional markets in rural homes of West Bengal. The immediate reference of artisans is the Dariapur (Burdwan) community of 15 Units shown in the background of similar communities existing elsewhere in the State in the Districts of Birbhum, Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia.

2. Amongst the traditional handicrafts of the State, such a product is one with a distinction. In the case of handicrafts like ivory, conch bangle, clay dolls, wooden toy, bell-metal plate, horn piece, design cotton saree and an artistic mat, for instance, the producer's unit is an integral part of the rural or urban settlement, as it's product enjoys a place in cultural way of life of the people there. But, whereas, a "Pai" (measuring bowl) a "Ghunur" (small) bells attached to neck or foot producing sound as the body moves), a "Lakshmisaj" were favoured items to rural consumers, the craftsmen were not any part of the rural society.

3. The distinctiveness of these products and the social aloofness of their artisans are equally important. Any comprehensive historical account of such craftsmen of the State has, perhaps, not been published so far for the shifting nature of their small settlements, the careful mind of an educated gentleman to avoid poverty and dirt mixed up in the artisan-persons and the forgetfulness of the local people about them as soon as they will have moved individually or in groups elsewhere.

4. It immediately appeared that, the problem of such craftsmen, who were not permanently settled in that area, had a dialect of their own and was not an entity socially recognized in the village, should not be studied only on the basis of the data just obtained by us in 1964, but with a perspective of the factors behind the above characteristics. The study was temporarily kept in abeyance thereafter and was again resumed in June, 1967 and continuous investigations were undertaken by me until March, 1968 on various issues, particularly in newly discovered areas. Meanwhile, as it was observed that, the original words and sentences of artisans were different from the local people including the traditional smiths of any type, the whole subject was referred to by me to Sri R. C. Nigam, the Linguist of Registrar General, India at Calcutta for the formulation of a grammar of the spoken language and ascertaining its source. He was very kind enough to accept it and presented in March, 1968 after spot-enquiries at Dariapur a 'Report on Linguistic investigations among "Dokra" artisans' with his Prefatory Notes along with the very informative analytical data and study thereon of Sri R. A. Singh, Senior Technical Assistant, which will be seen in an Appendix.

5. The Study on the "Dokra Artisans of village Dariapur in West Bengal" was taken up at the instance of the Registrar General, India in late 1964. This is the second subject on the series of a programme for the preparation of craft-monographs by State Cottage and

Small-Scale Industries Directorate under arrangements with the office of the Registrar General India in its Social Studies and Handicrafts Branch. A questionnaire was framed by me in accordance with the general principles prescribed by the above Branch. As the investigations proceeded, Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer-on-Special Duty in R. G's office at New Delhi was very often consulted and he rendered very valuable instructions everytime. Initial data for the technique portion of the subject-relevant to Dariapur were also obtained at my request from Sri P. Sen, Director, Regional Design Centre of All India Handicrafts Board at Calcutta. The first round of study into the social and economic life of the Dariapur establishments on the Ghatakpukur site was completed by early 1965.

6. It is the Report of the Linguist, Government of India, that, for the first time, indicated that the speech of artisans corresponded to that of a vagrant community of Chotonagpur (Bihar) called "Malar". But the context and the basic presumption of the Study so far done were in reference to "Dokras". It was then found necessary to have a correct identification in respect of the artisans' communities as the word "Malar" was a new variable to be reconciled with. Based on my discussions held with Sri R. C. Nigam in February and March, 1968, another round of investigations and discussions were undertaken by me along with the field officers of the Cottage and Small-Scale Industries Directorate in each of the places under coverage of this Study and, surprisingly, the artisans of all the places excepting those of Bankura (including Rampur) and Purulia Districts accepted them as "Malars" and those of *all* the place, with no exception refused to identify them as "Dokras". I have placed specific facts in these subsequent paras. But, any connection between the "Malars" and "Dokras' is yet to be substantiated. At the continuing confirmation of the artisans of each of the settlements located in the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum and Midnapore, who identified them to be belonging to Malar community, the word "Malar" and "Dokra" have been inserted side by side by me in the Report to indicate the *same group* of persons. By this, it is not intended that the social implications of "Malar" and "Dokra" are similar ; but it would only specify that the persons about whom any statement is made are one and the same and that the so-called Dokra members of those places can equally be identified as Malars from the point of view of the artisans themselves.

7. It would be interesting to note the comparative facts as given in subsequent paras in the background of the following distribution of the brass-casting artisans practising the lost-wax process as in 1967 in this State, which was arrived at during supplementary investigations from 1965 :

Place		No. of working families
1 Dariapur	(Burdwan)	15
2 Eklakshmi	(Burdwan)	3
3 Nachensa	(Birbhum)	2
4 Belia	(Midnapore)	5
5 Amda	(Midnapore)	6

Place		No. of working families
6 Rampur	(Bankura)	9
7 Netkamla	(Bankura)	5
8 Bindajam	(Bankura)	8
9 Nadiha	(Purulia)	2
10 Kenda	(Purulia)	4
11 Ankro	(Purulia)	16
12 Pabra-Pahari	(Purulia)	6
13 Kulbahal	(Purulia)	2
	Total	83

8. So far as their products are concerned, the common item in all the above places is the cereal-measuring bowls ("Pai"—"Kona"). The artisans of the Districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore and Bankura (Rampur) only have specialised in items like "Laxmi-saj" (Seat of Hindu Goddess Laxmi), the other figures of Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Narayan, Ganesh, Siva and Jagannath and those of animals/birds like elephants, peacock, etc. The Bindajam and Netkamla artisans of Bankura and the Purulia artisans have also been producing regularly "Nupur/Mal" (anklets) for tribal women. After training in Regional Design Centre of the All India Handicrafts Board at Calcutta, the Dariapur artisans have learnt first to produce the larger figures with newer motifs.

9. In respect of the technique, the "lost-wax process" of casting and design work on clay moulds are common to each place. But, the differentiating features are the use of "Mom" (wax), (instead of "Dhuna", *i.e.* resin as is being used by artisans of the remaining settlements) by the Bindajam, Netkamla and the Purulia district artisans only who bring out the threads by using a "Chungi" (press-equipment), also uncommon to the other settlements. The oven used by these artisans further is of a fixed type with iron-rods set to distinguish the fuel-space and looks like a small potter's kiln of about 60 cm. height.

10.1 The mobility of the population in these settlements, in particular reference to the artisans in the Districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Midnapore and Bankura (Rampur only), has been, perhaps, an inseparable feature of these communities. In so far as the information could be obtained, the mobility is both related to a group and to individuals. The original group movements to Dariapur (Burdwan) and Rampur (Bankura) are reported to have occurred for the non-availability of suitable places to live and to work. The individual mobility has been mostly due to the indebtedness incurred and the compelling force of finding out gainful work elsewhere and to stay with marriage relations.

10.2 But, the question remains why similar factors do not always compel the family-uni in other social communities to desert. The answer is that, these artisans' families are in th outer periphery of the Hindu Society in both social and economic contexts and when hunger and despair cripple any family, they have no base to fall back upon and they desert, still with a hope. Such contingencies have occurred and may occur at any time affecting the coherence o these communities and their co-operative societies in particular, where so organised.

10.3 A co-operative production organisation cannot function satisfactorily, if, amongst other reasons, the basis of membership remains unstable. The vulnerable points still exist not only in Dariapur community, but also in other similar communities and the artisans-members are aware of them, whenever, these have threatening effects on the continuity of a family in the colony itself. Surprisingly, the artisans-members do not generally disclose the whereabouts of the deserters. The artisans have been found to be struggling for permanent settlement in each place, but in places with temporary settlements, they have not developed so far any sincere affection for the present villages. It may be due to the fact that, there is restricted entry of the artisan-members to the general facilities available in the village and to the association with other social groups. For this lack of social, cultural and physical link with the village and the villagers, the artisans' communities of the places mentioned above remain as separate entities. Hence, the mobility remains in spite of the artisans' of the families desiring to settle in suitable places permanently.

10.4 The facts about shifting of individual Units in respect of communities other than those at Bindajam, Netkamla and those in Purulia, from place to place will reveal that :

(*a*) The present Rampur (Bankura) settlement has it's origin in Madhuban and Gopalpur near Bishnupur (Bankura) both being deserted now entirely.

(*b*) The present Dariapur (Burdwan) settlement has it's origin in Uro, Adra and Koitara, all being in Burdwan District and in Asure-Barjora (Bankura) and, earlier, in Nepur, Gaurbazar and Satgachia in the same district, and all being deserted entirely.

(*c*) Irkona in Galsi-II Block in Burdwan District (J. L. No. 103), another place of origin of Dariapur settlements, has very recently (1967 enquiry) been deserted by the living artisans, although, the 1964 enquiry brought out 3 artisans' families.

(*d*) Andharkuly near Kharagpur (Midnapore) has been deserted entirely by the living artisans a few years back.

(*e*) Raipur (Birbhum) has been deserted by Nachensa (Birbhum) artisans about 15 years back.

(*f*) Amongst the present settlements of Dariapur, Rampur, Amda, Eklakshmi and Nachensa, shifting have been continuing by marriage connections and for compelling economic reasons.

(*g*) The exact places of shifting of a number of families of the existing and deserted settlement could not be ascertained on enquiry.

(*h*) The village Sankua in Narayangar (Midnapore), the parent village of Amda artisans now has been entirely deserted ; the village Kultikuri in Sankrail (Midnapore) Block, another parent village of Amda artisans has now only 1 artisan family, which is also reported to be on it's way for a settlement in Amda.

10.5 The movements of deserters from Dariapur could not be followed excepting when the occasional enquiries revealed that, during 1964-67 enquiry period, there have been particular changes in the present positions of the deserters. At the instance of Sm. Kshiroda Karmakar (wife of Sri Dhanu Karmakar of Rampur, Bankura), when she brust into tears before the author on February 22, 1968 and requested to enquire of the whereabouts of Balaram, the husband of their grand-daughter, who deserted Dariapur in 1964, the matter was enquired into. The 1964 enquiry revealed that Balaram was in Natunhat (Burdwan) for soldering work ; the March 1968 enquiry confirmed that he was in Rawtara near Bolpur (Birbhum). The information was sent to Rampur.

10.6 The local villagers of Irkona (Burdwan) and Hat-Asuria (Bankura) could not throw any light as to the places the artisans' families have moved to. It has been reported from Hat-Asuria by Sk. Abdul Kasem Mondal, the local Anchal Prodhan, Sk. Ismail and Sri Amar Mondal (wine dealer) that a batch of such casting artisans came there 7/8 years back and were producing measuring bowls, but has since deserted the village. Generally, they used to come earlier years in summer months.

11. An analysis of marriage relations between the groups of artisans of various places would show that (i) the Dariapur (Burdwan) artisans are now more connected with families located in settlements of Burdwan and Birbhum and have connections also with Rampur community ; (ii) the Belia and Amda (Midnapore) families have most connections with settlements located in the same District, but, have relations also in the settlements at Kaliadanga near Bahargura (via Chakulia District, Singhbhum (Bihar) and Mayurbhanj (Orissa) ; (iii) the Rampur (Bankura) families have connections with different settlements in Midnapore District, Dariapur (Burdwan) and Bahargura (Singhbhum, Bihar) ; (iv) the Netkamla and Bindajam (Bankura) families have no marriage connections with any artisan's families of Dariapur, Rampur, Belia,Amda, Eklakshmi and Nachensa ; on the other hand, having some Muslim traits in social life, they have connections between those two settlements and these in different places of Purulia District and Chakulia (Singhbhum District, Bihar) ; (v) none of the settlements mentioned above reported any connection with either the traditional smithy families of the State or with "Dokra" Kamar groups. The artisans of Nachensa, Eklakshmi, Dariapur and Belia also identified them, however, as "Dhamar" (Smiths).

12.1 Regarding the spoken language of the artisans, a thorough study of the Dariapur group was undertaken by the Linguist of Registrar General, Government of India. In the context of that Appendix, further investigations by me in the settlements of Rampur, Nachensa and Amda have also brought out the artisans using the same language of "Malar" as in Dariapur ; the test was on the use of a few functional words for a working furnace ("Pāchrā"), a core ("Thensa"), a crucible ("Gheria"), a tong ("Sānsi") and those for son ("Chuā"), marriage ("Behā"), to see ("Lakh), to die ("Lugar"), evening ("Khirat"), morning ("Bihān"), a child ("Dhilku"). It is presumed that, as the course of the movements of different groups in different parts of the State has not been identical, there might be the influence of other dialects on the speech of respective communities. For instance, the artisans having lived earlier or now living in the areas of Midnapore District adjoining Orissa might have picked up Oriya words : and, there is every reason to hold that the basis of the local people's identification of the artisans in Dariapur and Asure-Barjora as "Ure-Karmakars" might be due to their earlier associations with these areas, which cannot be ruled out in view of the current relations also.

12.2 But, the artisans of Bindajam and Netkamla do not speak in "Malar" language, the same test being applied. Some words picked up during discussions there were "Chungi" for wax-pressing equipment, "Thāti" and "Muchi" for crucible, "Khoi-rasun" for function on the third day after child-birth, "Jhālbhāt" for function on the fourth day after child birth, "Nantā" for function on the ninth day after child-birth and "Chānch" for core, "Bānki Pai—Kon" for anklet (Bengali "Nupur").

12.3 In all the places, however, it has been observed that, they would like to speak in Bengali before the local people and outsiders and would either smile in affirmative or hide their exact word generally, whenever, a picked-up word was reproduced ; but sincere reproduction of their words in discussions proved to bring them closer to us.

12.4 Even the children of Dariapur, in a rainy day in 1967, on a question by me as to why they were playing with mud, replied that, they were preparing "Thensā" (core) in a big way. A recognition of that language locally has never been possible and, there lies the main reason for mutual suspicion between the artisans and the villagers.

13. The most worrying portion of the Study was the community identification of the different groups in the line.

13.1 The Dariapur artisans are officially known as Dokra Karmakars with their surnames as Karmakars only. With such identification, the Study proceeded, until there was the need to test it after the analytical report on their language was received. The artisans then separately confirmed in early March, 1968 that they were "Malars" and their work was "Mālārkar Dhāral Kāj" (casting work of a Malar) and that they were not "Dokras, with which word, they came to be associated only when their Society was organised in 1962, December. A Master craftsman, Matar, told meon 19.3.68 that, the "Dokra Karmakars" were lower in status and Malars had no marriage connections with them, who preferred to live in "Majhi Para" (Santal settlement), produced iron implements for agricultural purposes including "Chārā"/"Kānt", the knife required for cock-fights, and not engaged in any casting work. Matar had seen such Dokras a few years back in the village Purandarpur near Suri (Birbhum).

13.2 Incidentally, the Hat-Asure (Barjora, District Bankura) local people still remembered Baikuntha Ure Karmakar, Babulal Ure Karmakar and Matar Ure Karmakar producing measuring bowls, who had since left for Dariapur. A piece of "Pai" was also shown to the Project Officer, Rural Industries Projects, Durgapur, while investigating about the artisans, which was produced by Fakir Ure. But, nothing could be obtained to substantiate that the earlier and the present Dariapur artisans were Oriyas and, perhaps, because, the local people could not understand "Malar", the artisans used broken Bengali plus Oriya (which was picked up by them or their fore-fathers in adjoining areas of Orissa and/or in particular places of Mayurbhanj) and the villagers identified them as Oriyas. The Hat-Asure persons recognised such artisans also as gypsies ("Bede"). The mobile artisans were there known as "Dhānkrās". This was also confirmed to me by Matar, who was in that village before Dariapur, who said, that word should not be confused with "Dokra", as, in the event of identification with the latter, they will be "bejāt", *i.e.* be down graded in community status.

13.3 The Eklaxmi (Burdwan) artisans confirmed in March, 1968 that they belonged to "Mārāl" community and their work was "Mārālkār Kāj". It may be that, they pronounced "Mālār" as "Mārāl".

13.4 The Nachensa (Birbhum) artisans confirmed in March, 1968 that, they belonged to "Mārāl" community and their products were "Mārālkār Kāj" ; here also, perhaps, the local pronunciation is "Mārāl" for "Mālār."

13.5 Sri Abadhut Karmakar and Sri Ramesh Karmakar of Amda (Midnapore) confirmed also to me in March, 1968 that they were locally known as "Ghāntrās", *i.e.* those who were engaged in brass-casting work ; they were not "Dokras" ; they belonged to "Malar" community and used previously the surname of "Lāg" ("Nāg") (*i.e.* under "Lag" clan). They shared with Matar of Dariapur in saying that all the artisans' families in Dariapur, Belia, Amda, Rampur, Eklaxmi and Nachensa did also belong to "Malar" community, that they were distinct also from the artisan's groups who produced similar things using wax ("mom") and not resin ("Dhuna") like them. As a matter of fact, about their identification with "Malar" community, these artisans initially hesitated, should their "Karmakar" surname be taken off ; but, then, smilingly established it a number of times, each time with greater emphasis.

13.6 The Belia (Midnapore) artisans confirmed in March, 1968 that, they belonged to "Malar" community with surname "Lag", although, they sometimes pronounced the word as "Maral" ; their work was "Mālārkār Kāj" ; they insisted to be Kansabaniks as they handle brass-metal ; they had no social/caste connection with the blacksmith community of "Dokra's", which was considered by them as a lower caste ; they were aware of "Thatari" artisans of some places in Singhbhum District and Muslim "Thatari's of Chakulia area in same District.

13.7 The Nayek families of Kharagpur confirmed to be belonging to Malar community.

13.8 The Rampur (Bankura) artisans have confirmed in February/March, 1968 that : they were not "Dokras" and they resent in being so addressed ; they prefer to retain the surname of Karmakar ; only Sri Upendra disclosed that, until recently, he was a "Lag", but he has "Lag" relatives ; Sri Rajendra had a "Lag" son-in-law ; but, in spite of marriage relations with Burdwan and Midnapore Malars, they have resented in identifying them as Malars ; they were aware of some gypsi "Malhar"s visiting the Bankura areas from some unknown places of Hazaribag and Dhanbad, producing "Malhar Dharal's" by receiving old brass metal pieces from local villagers and leaving the particular places for still unknown areas ; according to Rampur artisans, the Malhars were lower in status, although, the visiting artisans often introduced them to villagers as closely related to Rampur artisans and once, one of them had stolen away metal pieces of a villager ; thus for the habits of the mobile Malhars, the Rampur artisans have been very cautious and suspicious of them and hate them. But, in my opinion, the resentment of the Rampur artisans towards visiting Malhars may be more due to the probable police-suspicion on them for any identification with Malhar or Malar causing them also to leave the place or to be harassed for no fault of theirs ; hence, perhaps, they prefer not to disclose the name of their original community for a permanent settlement in Bankura area with local goodwill, which, of course, does not immediately disprove their existing relations with Malars of this State nor prove their immediate connection or otherwise with visiting Malhars ; but there cannot be any comments about these "Malhars" without any case-study.

13.9 The artisans of Bindajam and Netkamla (Bankura) have confirmed that they were neither "Malars" nor "Dokras" but "Sekras"/"Mals" and permanent settlers in the respective areas. They considered them distinct from others, particularly because, they have certain Muslim traits in way of life as well, and, they are not recognised either as Hindus or Muslims. In their opinion, the mobile "Malhars" were thieves at night and casting artisans during daytime. One of the lady-artisan of Netkamla preparing wax threads frowned upon the Rampur artisans by disclosing to me on February 25, 1968 that the latter used tar-black resin-lump (*i.e.* not wax like them) and hence were of lower category. On further discussions, the male artisans doubted that our questions were for learning the secrecy of their trade for setting up factories and thus intended for their unemployment ; the elderly artisans commented that, they would not object to such factories, provided, their children and female persons were looked after by us.

13.10 The Purulia artisans confirmed that they were only 'Mal's and were of the groups as in Bindajam and Netkamla.

14. From the facts of the foregoing paragraphs, there are good reasons :

(*a*) to classify the brass-casting artisans of the State using lost-wax process into two groups of Malar and Non-Malar ; the first sub-group comprising the artisans' families of Dariapur (Burdwan), Eklaxmi (Burdwan), Nachensa (Birbhum), Belia (Midnapore), Amda (Midnapore) and *possibly*, Rampur (Bankura) and the second sub-group comprising the artisans' families of Bindajam (Bankura), Netkamla (Bankura) and Pabrapahari/Kulbahal/Nadiha/Ankro/Kenda (Purulia), in respect of the technique of production, the specific items of production, the spoken language, closed marital connections and way of life ;

(*b*) to investigate further to ascertain

(i) if the Rampur Group is a mixed one at all or falls under "Malar" ;

(ii) the specific original communities for Non-Malar settlements and the circumstances under which they adopted Muslim traits ;

(*c*) to establish any connection between the Malars/Mals/Rampur Karmakars with "Dokra" Kamars, as no group identified them as such and considered the latter as "Blacksmiths" of lower status, leaving the scope, however, for further case-studied on them ;

(*d*) to accept that the migratory character of the persons in Malar community can be lessened or eliminated by suitable steps being taken for their permanent economic settlements ; and (*e*) to study further separately the areas of Chakulia-Baharagura in Singhbhum (Bihar) (for both Malars and Non-Malar) and some places of Mayurbhanj (Orissa) (for Malars only), where these communities have relatives to ascertain the original concentrations, the basic similarities or differences between the original communities and the course of movements of the fore-fathers of the present families now in different parts of the State through the direct road routes from Bihar/Orissa to the adjoining areas of Purulia, Bankura and Midnapore. [As a matter of fact, it has been reported by the Sub-Post-Master, Chakulia (Bihar) on March, 20, 1968 that : there is a road route from Chakulia to Mayurbhanj *via* Baharagura. A bridge in Subarnarekha, known as "Jamsole Bridge" constructed in 1964 has facilitated movements. The Subarnarekha itself maintained connections. Danton and Belda (Midnapore) are connected with the important places of Orissa like Baripada, Rairongpur, Karanjia, Khiching and further therefrom with Singbhum.]

15. The recent formation of Co-operative Societies in Dariapur and Rampur have given the communities an organisational strength, although, it has been subject to occasional lapses, whenever, there has been less outside orders to keep them engaged with wages or lack of constant supervision on work-schedule. Still then, the expectations for a settled life under the co-operative are there in both Dariapur and Rampur, the results being clearly visible in each place, and the Malar artisans of the other places are aware of the Government patronage being given there only. It is high time to take steps to organise the other smaller communities into viable co-operatives, if necessary, by arrangement of rehabilitation in selected places only. As the artisans by tradition have not developed an affection for any particular soil, such rehabilitation may materialise, provided there is an effective Scheme of constant financial, technical and supervisory assistance including the specific responsibilities to secure bulk orders, to maintain specifications and to deliver in time. The nature of assistance that is necessary for their co-operatives should also be studied on the merits and requirements of these communities, where artisans have only the skill to delivery goods and the rest remain to be built up and maintained. Just an approach of annual audit and casual inspection of and the admissible assistance for their co-operatives would not help their rehabilitation. Simultaneously, care has to be taken, so that, the few small mastercraftsmen amongst them do not act actually as "Mahajans" (Middlemen) between the society and the parties placing orders, and the skilled artisans are not taken away by profiteering entrepreneurs for temporary work with better wages, particularly when, their objects have now been treated as conspicuous consumables by the urban and sophisticated world and the organised rehabilitation of the communities have indispensably been separating the artisans from the rural melas and humble homes in agricultural villages. It is in this aspect of their work under co-operatives, and constant contacts with urban agencies that, there will be gradual changes in their orginal way of life, of course, subject to frequent reversions and lapses as well. The only danger to be avoided here is to see that, in the midst of changes, the creative craftsman does not die out. The assuring fact has been that, the traditional method producing the wares by hollow-casting process has been found to retain the creative faculties of each artisan on individual items and, at the same time, to accommodate newer designs of taste and utility of local and foreign consumers. The Dariapur and Rampur artisans appreciate the specifications of consumers who stay far away from them through photographs

of articles and reproduce them with finer skills, improved upon in Dariapur by training at the Regional Design Centre at Calcutta. The usefulness of the Societies to the member-artisan, would also substantially depend on the fair distribution of orders, the programme of supply of basic metal of standard proportions, the advance-payments of living wages as the work proceeds and the development of skill of a larger number of artisans in handling bigger and complicated items suiting newer demand and maintaining the malleability of cast forms. The success of the existing Societies may also help the formation of a few others in suitable places, ensuring thereby, to retain the artisans in the trade away from alternative jobs unassociated with craft. Maintenance of regular information of these communities and business co-ordination between thier co-operatives may help strengthening the base of this traditional craft.

16. What interested me most from the very beginning were not only the skill of the Malar artisans, who are now capable of facing the new markets, but the fact of the mobility of artisans. Should they not again be forgotten totally and unrecognised by the neighbours and promoters, when lost from a particular settlement due to chronic poverty, I have tried to pick up the particulars of individuals and groups as far as possible, so that, the subsequent studies or enquiries could start from a given base. They were all found to be very social persons with fellow-feelings, love, sense of humour, belief in Gods, quarrelsomeness and selfishness as well and the temporary migrations could only make them more experienced about the unkind world and craving for rehabilitation. Their aloofness and fear from other social groups will disappear with the permanent settlements and, gradually, they will be socially recognised as a distinct occupation-class. In the absence of arrangements for rehabilitation, I apprehend, the number of working artisans will be substantially reduced in very near future. I present this Review along with the valuable Appendix, on behalf our Collegue Field Officers to the artisans of the small artisans communities of the State in recognition of our regard for them and the affection with which they accepted me and our investigating officers every time we met them.

Dated, Calcutta-1
The March 30, 1968
New Secretariat
9th floor.

A. N. Mukherjee
Deputy Director of Industries (CDP),
Cottage & Small-scale Industries Directorate,
Government of West Bengal.

Note :

(i) Further investigations done in 1969 with the assistance of the District-level-Extension Officer (Industries), Malda, revealed that there were 23 families of similar artisans in Mirdhakuri Village under Gazole Block. In the adjacent Block of Habibpur also, there were a few such families in Village Kendpur. They were producing measuring bowls, dancing 'Gur gur', 'Boka' (Cooking Utensil), tribal ornaments etc. They claimed them as 'Rangdhalai' artisans. A Co-operative Society has been organised with these artisans.

(ii) In early 1972, another trace of 5 'Mal' artisans' families with muslim traits, has been ascertained on investigation in Garbeta Block III (Midnapore) in Guriadaha Village. It is reported that they came from Ramgarh (Midnapore) and Amjhara (Bankura). They have relations with Purulia and Chakulia artisans. They were producing measuring bowls, 'Ghurgur'. 'Lakshmisarai', images etc. Further enquiry will follow.

I

THE MALAR GROUP (DOKRA) OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN)

The group of Dariapur is the first to be organised as a Cooperative Society and hence, is chosen for an intensive study

The distribution of Dariapur families is shown community-wise

Association of the Malar craftsmen in Dariapur village

Five Malar pioneers at Dariapur

The earlier settlements of Dariapur Malar families

Identity of artisans in the area

Members of Malar families; their places of marriage—their children

The deserters from the Malar community of Dariapur

The living places of Malar families.

69/248/6 Census (PB).

I

THE MALAR GROUP (DOKRA) OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN)

Of all the existing settlements of hollow-casting artisans in the State, those at Dariapur (Burdwan) and Rampur (Bankura) have been organised as industrial cooperatives by the ends of 1962 and 1965 respectively. The Dariapur Society is the first one of it's kind and has come in contact with organised markets earlier than Rampur Society and has also been receiving technical guidance and official patronage for the last few years, until very recently, when the Rampur Society has also, due to sustained efforts of the field officers of the Cottage and Small Scale Industries Directorate, been associated similarly.

2. The Dariapur artisans are chosen for an intensive study with special reference to the individuals forming the Group.

3. The village of Dariapur is at J. L. No. 162 in Ausgram-I Development Block in district Burdwan. Its location is shown in Map at page 7. It is five kilometre south-west of Guskara, the Block Headquarters, on Eastern Railway Station on the Loop Line, which is 140 kilometre north of Howrah. The village is situated on the 22 kilometre Guskara-Mankar Road.

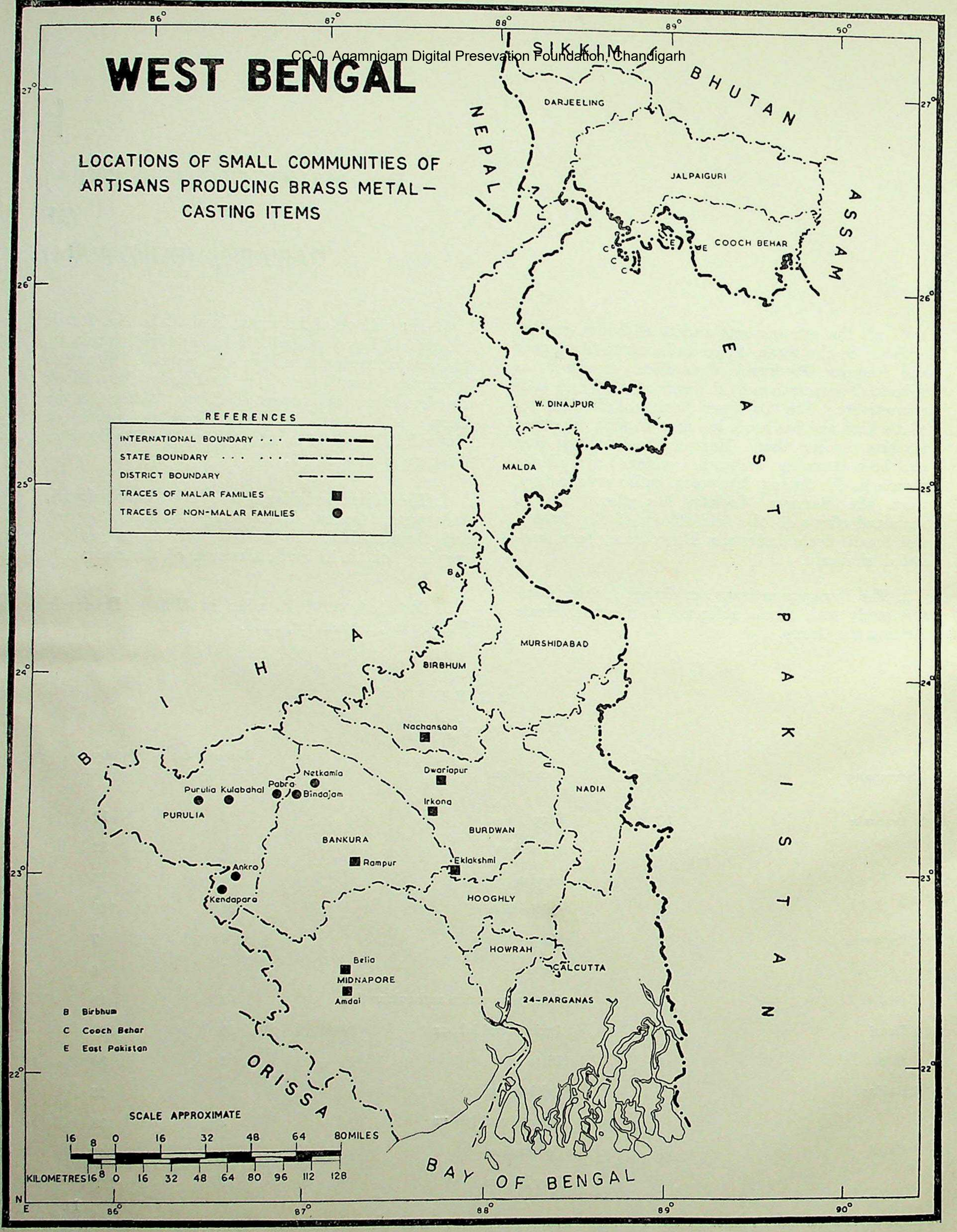
4. The adjoining villages of Alutia, Lakshmigunj, Jadavgunj, Gonna, Bhatgonna, Aligram, Deyasa and Gopinathbati are located within a paddy-growing belt in Sadar Subdivision of the district.

5. Distribution of Families in Village Dariapur (Burdwan), November, 1964.

TABLE 1

Distribution of families

Community	No. of families	Occupation	No. of families	Family members
1 Brahmin	33	Shop	1	12
		Workshop	4	32
		Service	4	28
		Cultivation	24	120
2 Kayastha	2	Shop	1	7
		Service	1	6
3 Barbar	2	Caste-occupation and cultivation	2	10
4 Bauri	20	Agricultural labour	20	120
5 Dom	6	Ditto	6	30
6 Ruidas	6	Cultivation	3	15
		Agricultural labour	3	18
7 Bagdi	35	Cultivation	8	48
		Day labour	27	162



WEST BENGAL

LOCATIONS OF SMALL COMMUNITIES OF ARTISANS PRODUCING BRASS METAL—CASTING ITEMS

REFERENCES
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
TRACES OF MALAR FAMILIES ■
TRACES OF NON-MALAR FAMILIES ●
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
NEPAL
ASSAM
DARJEELING
JALPAIGURI
COOCH BEHAR
E
C
EAST PAKISTAN
W. DINAJPUR
MALDA
BIHAR
B
MURSHIDABAD
BIRBHUM
Nachansaha
Dwariapur
Irkona
NADIA
BURDWAN
Netkamia
Pabra
Bindajam
Purulia
Kulabahal
PURULIA
BANKURA
Rampur
Eklakshmi
Ankra
Kendapara
HOOGHLY
HOWRAH
CALCUTTA
Belia
MIDNAPORE
Amdai
24-PARGANAS
B Birbhum
C Cooch Behar
E East Pakistan
ORISSA
BAY OF BENGAL
SCALE APPROXIMATE
16 8 0 16 32 48 64 80MILES
KILOMETRES 16 8 0 16 32 48 64 80 96 112 128
86°
87°
88°
89°
90°
27°
26°
25°
24°
23°
22°
N
E

TABLE I—*contd.*

Community	No. of Families	Occupation	No. of families	Family members
8 Poddar	2	Cultivation	2	12
9 Tamuli	1	Service	1	3
10 Tili	1	Trading	1	23
11 Maira	4	Caste-profession and cultivation	4	30
12 Karmakar	3	Caste-occupation	2	6
		Cultivation	1	5
13 Konar-Sadgop	8	Cultivation	8	103
14 Sadgop	15	Cultivation	15	75
15 Goala	3	Caste-occupation and cultivation	3	15
16 Malar (known locally as Dokras)	29	Non-ferrous metal castings	29	128
17 Santhal	10	Cultivation	10	50
Total	**180**		**180**	**1,058**

[*Based on local enquiry*]

6. The Schedule of the composition of the population will reveal that, in 1964, in respect of the number of families, the communities of Brahmin, Bauri, Bagdi and Sadgop were predominant. For family, the distribution of members was:

(i)	Brahmin	6
(ii)	Bauri	6
(iii)	Bagdi	6
(iv)	Moira	7·5
(v)	Konar-Sadgop	13
(vi)	Malar (Dokra)	4·5

Cultivation and traditional caste professions continue to remain the primary source of livelihood. The nearest rural town of Guskara is primarily commercial and processing centre of cereals locally grown. For lack of growth of industries in that town, the character of the surrounding villages including Dariapur remains almost unaltered besides only the effects of intensive cultivation for their being located in a Package District.

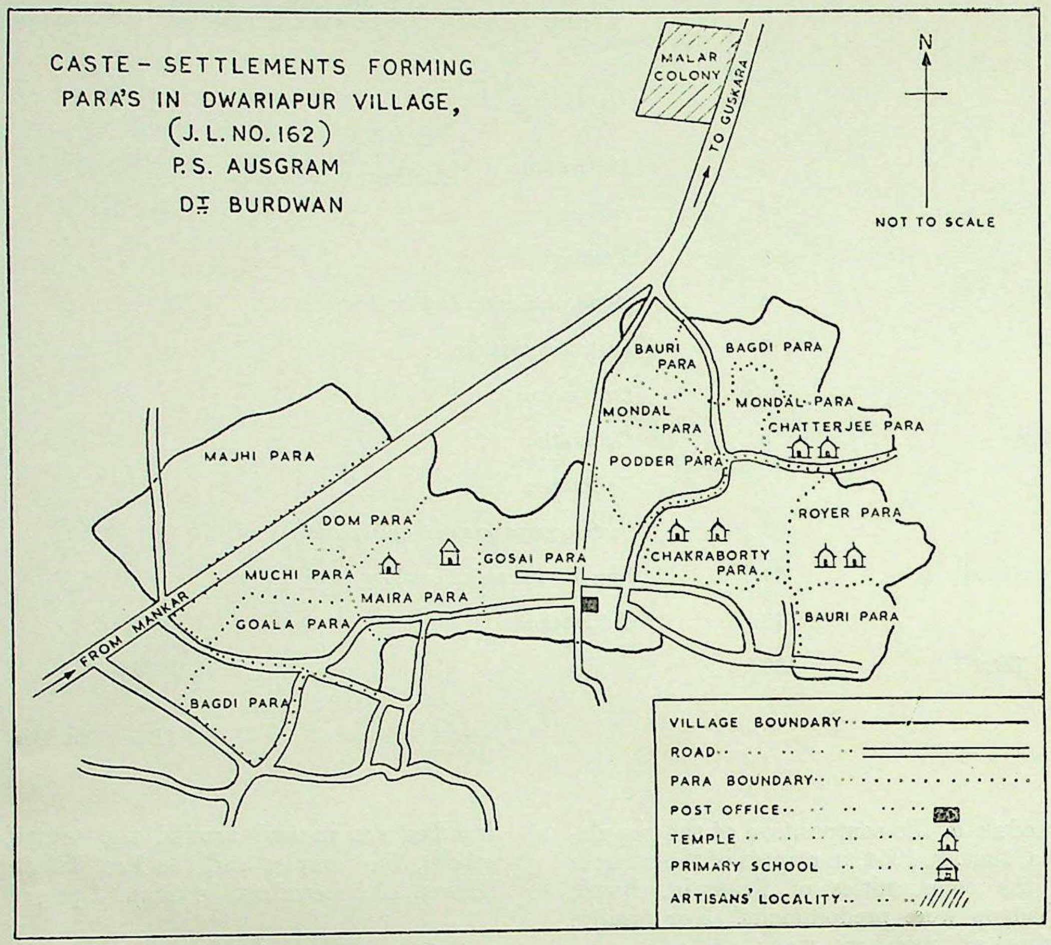
7. Another feature of the village is that, the so-called low-caste communities are settled in the boundaries of the village, whereas, the upper-caste families are in and around the centre, where, the school, the temples and the Post Office are located. This will be evident in Map at page 6.

8. The village of Dariapur has accidentally been associated with the Malar craftsmen engaged in hollow-casting of brass metal in "lost-wax" process since the Second World War period, when, a few persons immigrated to the village for a shelter having been ousted from some other localities in Galsi and Raina areas in the same district of Burdwan.

9. From the very beginning of their stay in Dariapur, till now, the village as such remains socially and functionally distinct from the artisans' community. Therefore, the Malar artisans are not village artisans in usual sense.

10. The artisans have been a migratory entity in the set up and so given a place in the outskirt. With or without the Malar families, locally popular also as Dokras, the village Dariapur does not gain or loose.

11. In Dariapur itself, the artisans lived in Ghatakpukur side for about twenty-five years since 1942, whenafter, they moved to Housing Colony constructed by their society in the middle of 1966. A group of mud houses of sizes comfortable enough to accommodate small families built on jointly-owned


CASTE- SETTLEMENTS FORMING
PARA'S IN DWARIAPUR VILLAGE,
(J. L. NO. 162)
P.S. AUSGRAM
D^{T} BURDWAN
MALAR COLONY
TO GUSKARA
N
NOT TO SCALE
BAURI PARA
BAGDI PARA
MONDAL PARA
MONDAL PARA
CHATTERJEE PARA
PODDER PARA
MAJHI PARA
DOM PARA
GOSAI PARA
ROYER PARA
CHAKRABORTY PARA
MUCHI PARA
MAIRA PARA
GOALA PARA
BAURI PARA
FROM MANKAR
BAGDI PARA
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
ROAD
PARA BOUNDARY
POST OFFICE
TEMPLE
PRIMARY SCHOOL
ARTISANS' LOCALITY

land is the first organised venture towards their settlement in the State, with, of course, assistance from the Government.

12. The artisans are not permanent residents of the village of Dariapur. It is understood that, in 1942, the following five artisans arrived in the village from village URO located near Galsi in the same district :

Five Pioneers

Manohar, the father of Sambhu ;
Hem, the father of Sanatan ;
Rajani, the father of Meghnad ;
Babulal, the father of Muchiram ;
Nagendra.

None of them is now (1967) alive.

Reasons for movements of the first five artisans of Dariapur are not known. It is a local guess that the poor and landless as they were, it was a search for a new place of habitation and livelihood with their traditional occupation, which was already in a dying condition. Towards the end of their stay in URO, these artisans were not allowed to use the clay which is the starting raw material for the mould, which might have led them to leave the place for Dariapur, where they found the clay near village *Bund* (embankment) suitable for modelling. The local zeminder was pleased with the performance of Manohar (the leader of the group) in *Jatra* rehearsal and permitted the humble destitutes to settle on the small strip of land on the bank of Ghatakpukur (a village tank), free of rent, although, the first few days were spent in the distant and of the village near the country-liquor shop and burning *ghat*. The length of the strip could be covered by 85 ordinary steps and the width of the area by 30—50 steps.

13. According to an estimate of 1964, the *original village-homes** of the present families were as stated below :

Village	Artisans
(i) URO (In Galsi-II Development Block in Burdwan district on G. T. Road, J. L. No. 137)	Sambhu, Sanatan, Rasamoy, Meghnad Dharani, Nagendra Bangachi, Haradhan, Rakhahari, Balaram Muchiram, Badal, Gurubal and Kinkar

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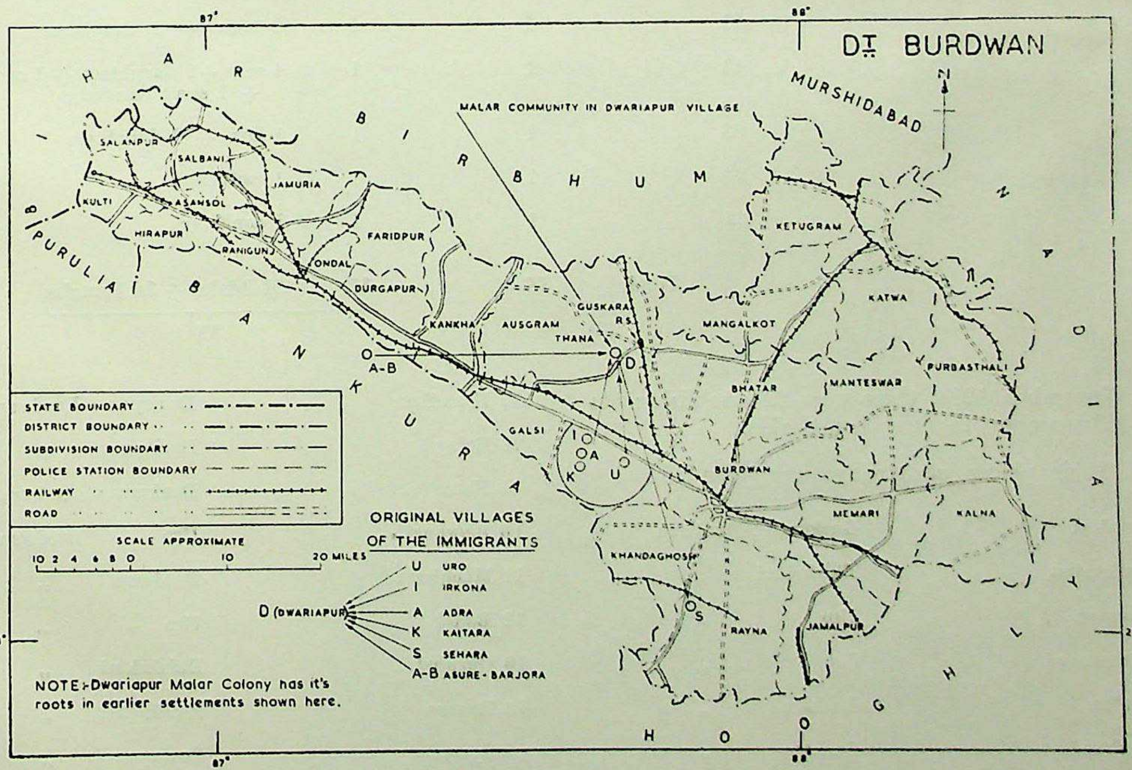
*The position is shown in Map at page 7.

Village	Artisans
(ii) ADRA and KOITARA (In Galsi-II Development Block in Burdwan district J. L. Nos. 78 and 74)	Rajani, Bhutnath
(iii) SEHARA BAZAR (In Raina-II Development Block, J. L. No. 55)	Sankar, Nadu
(iv) IRKONA (In Galsi-II Development Block, J. L. No. 103)	Janardan
(v) GUSKARA (Three miles north of village-Dariapur in Ausgram-I Development Block in Burdwan district)	Kalipada, Lakshmi
(vi) ASURE-BARJORA (In Barjora Development Block, J. L. No. 78 in Bankura district)	Baikuntha, Matar

It was further understood that, earlier to the period of living in the above settlements, some of the prominent artisan-members of today were born in places like Nepur (J. L. No. 31, P.S. Ranigunj, Dt. Burdwan), Gaurbazar (J. L. No. 14, P. S. Barabani, Dt. Burdwan), Bishnupur (Bankura) and Satgachia (Burdwan).

14. Initially known by the local people as "URE KAMAR" (blacksmith belonging to Orissa), the artisans have been officially recognised as *Karmakar* when they formed a cooperative society in 1962. These artisans were used to soldering jobs as well with movements from village to village, which is generally the function of rural blacksmiths. Their present distinction is for design work of brass metal by indigenous hollow-casting, which is not a function of smiths. Soldering job is secondary to them. The attachment of *Karmakar* to their names, though not of functional importance in real sense, has a significance for their social status in the Hindu caste-structure. They are now more known in the village as mobile 'Dokras', which word, has been common since their association with the Regional Design Centre, Calcutta.

To the villagers of Galsi area also, these artisans' units were often characterised as moving families with no permanent habitation. It was told that their forefathers might be residing in Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Their stay in particular areas was taken to be temporary and the Dariapur village people remained careful of their alleged habits of theft. Their uncleanliness and a spoken language of their own, substantially different from Bengali, also kept them away from the neighbourhood way of life. With the more contacts for the develop-


87°
88°
DT. BURDWAN
MURSHIDABAD
N
MALAR COMMUNITY IN DWARIAPUR VILLAGE
H A R
B I R B H U M
SALANPUR
SALBANI
JAMURIA
KULTI
ASANSOL
HIRAPUR
RANIGUNJ
FARIDPUR
ONDAL
DURGAPUR
PURULIA
B A N K U R A
KANKHA
AUSGRAM
GUSKARA R.S.
THANA
A-B
D
KETUGRAM
MANGALKOT
KATWA
PURBASTHALI
BHATAR
MANTESWAR
GALSI
I O A U K
BURDWAN
MEMARI
KALNA
KHANDAGHOSH
S
RAYNA
JAMALPUR
N A D I A
H O O G H L Y
23°
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
SUBDIVISION BOUNDARY
POLICE STATION BOUNDARY
RAILWAY
ROAD
SCALE APPROXIMATE
10 2 4 6 8 0 10 20 MILES
ORIGINAL VILLAGES OF THE IMMIGRANTS
D (DWARIAPUR)
U URO
I IRKONA
A ADRA
K KAITARA
S SEHARA
A-B ASURE-BARJORA
NOTE:- Dwariapur Malar Colony has it's roots in earlier settlements shown here.

ment of their craft, the socially unrecognised and hated families were gradually gaining a recognition as an occupation group needing a permanent settlement.

15. According to an estimate of November, 1967, the details of the constituent-members of the Dariapur group of artisans were as stated below :

TABLE 2

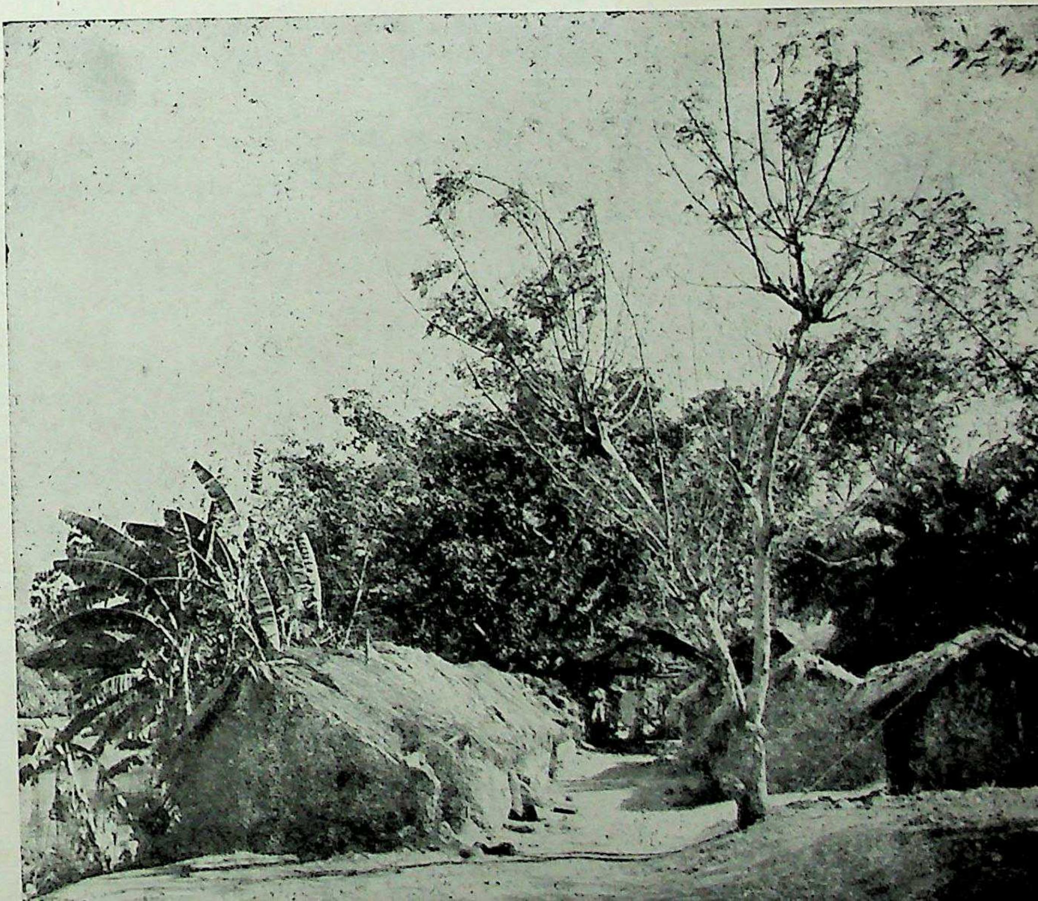
Constituent-members of the Dariapur group

Name of head of family	Age	No. of members in the unit: Adult: Male	Female	Dependents
Sambhu	43	1	1	4 sons + 1 daughter + 1 nephew + 1 (blind) mother-in-law
Baikuntha	41	1	1	5 sons
Sanatan	40	1	1	1 son + 2 daughters
Rasamoy	39	1	1	5 sons + 1 daughter
Budhu	53	1	1	2 sons + 2 daughters
Meghnad	39	1	1	1 son + 4 daughters
Haradhan	30	1	1	
Bejoy	38	1	1	1 son
Matar	28	1	1	2 sons + 1 mother-in-law
Biswanath	33	1	1	2 sons + 2 daughters
Muchiram	33	1	1	2 sons + 2 daughters
Badal	43	1	1	4 sons,+2 daughters + 1 son's wife + 1 son's daughter
Gurubal	38	1	1	1 son + 2 daughters
Rasana	20	1	1	1 mother
Syama	22	1	1	1 daughter
Total		**15**	**15**	**31 Males + 24 Females**
				85

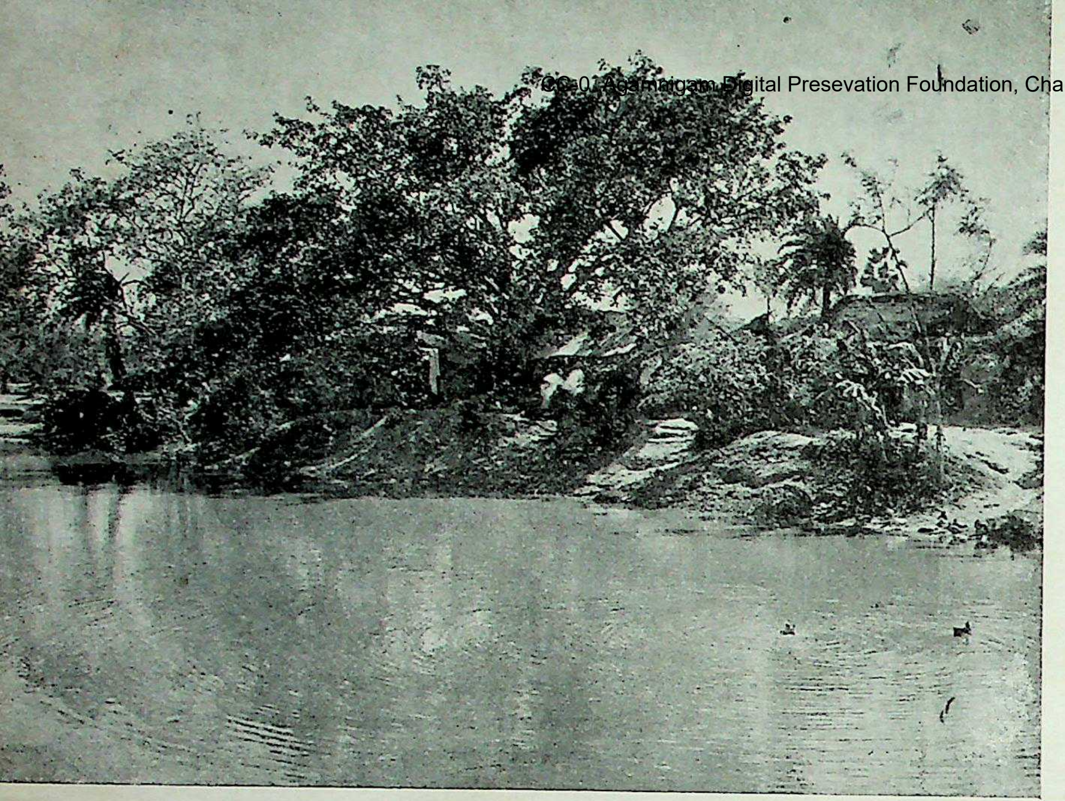
In November, 1964, there were 29 establishments and 128 members in those households.

16. Their places of marriage are given below :

1 Sambhu	Guskara	Burdwan
2 Baikuntha	Eklakshmi	,,
3 Sanatan	Uro	,,
4 Rasamoy	Uro	,,
5 Budhu	Guskara	,,
6 Meghnad	Guskara	,,
7 Haradhan	Dariapur	Burdwan
8 Bejoy	Dariapur	,,
9 Matar	Bankura	Bankura
10 Biswanath	Uro	Burdwan
11 Muchiram	Burdwan	,,
12 Badal	Uro	,,
13 Gurubal	Eklakshmi	,,
14 Rasana	Eklakshmi	,,
15 Syama	Dariapur	,,



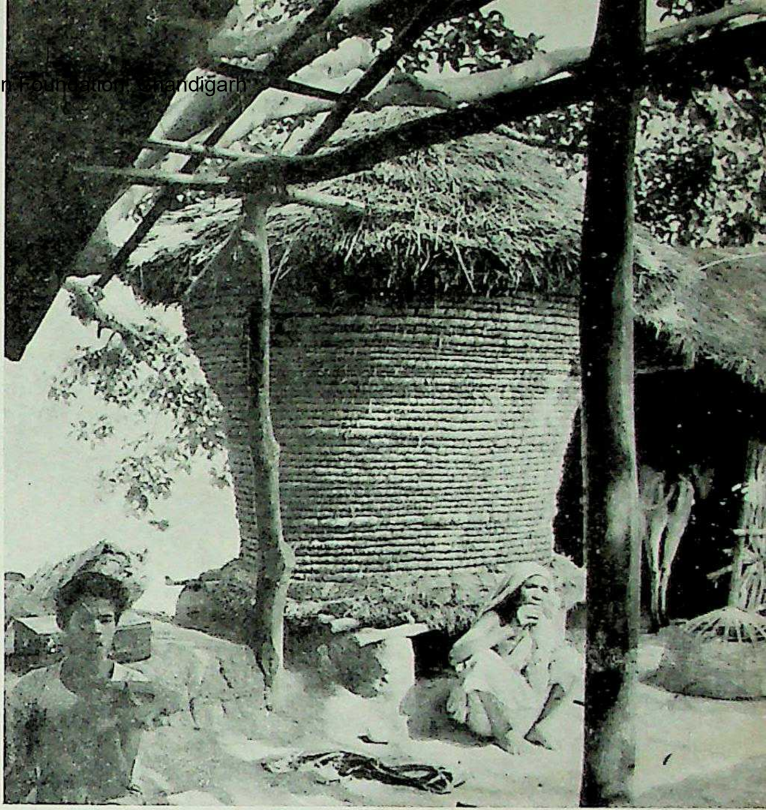
Ghatakpukur site at Dariapur, Burdwan District where the Malar artisans lived from 1942—66.



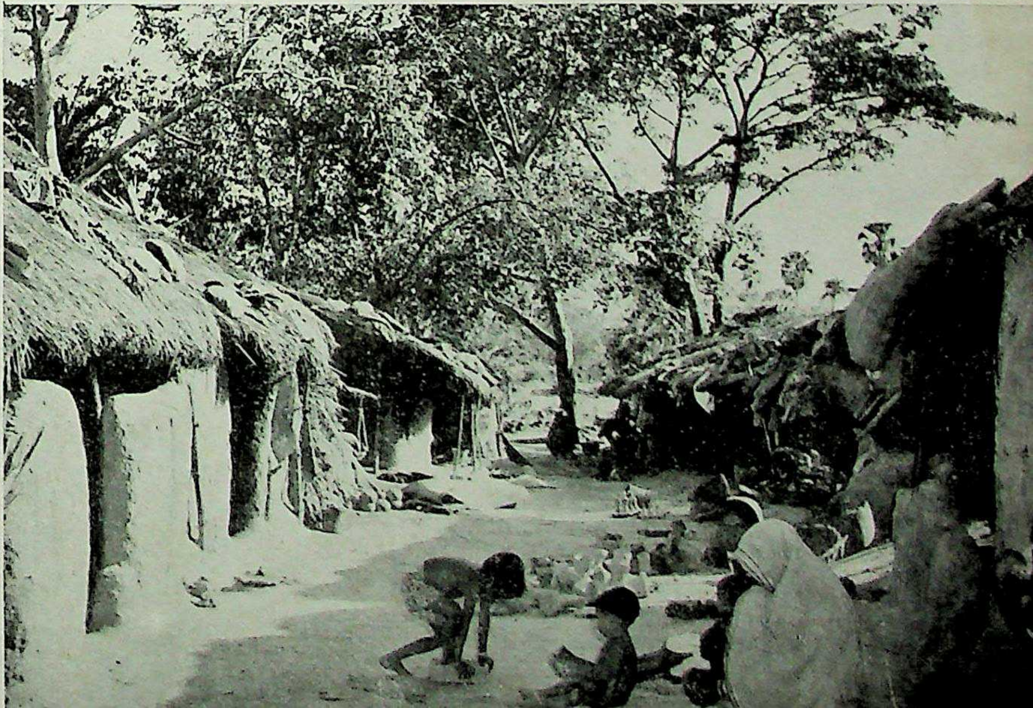
Ghatakpukur provided the artisans land for their residence and water for bathing, washing and other household uses.

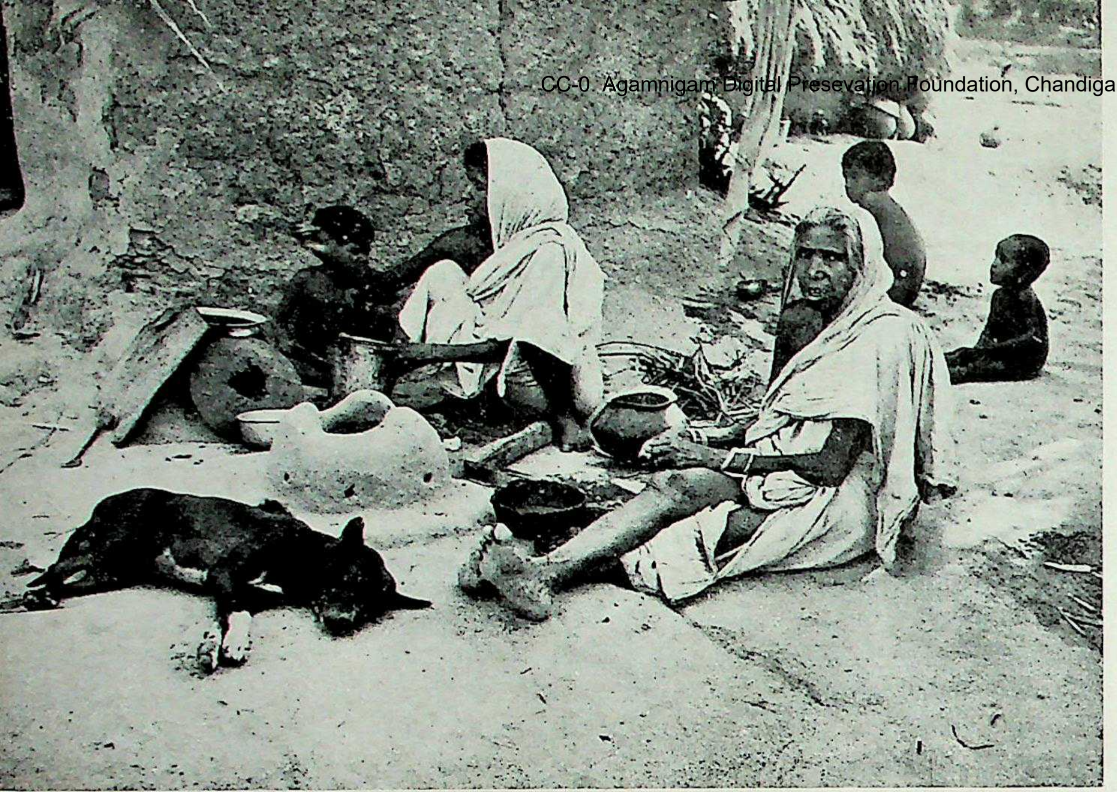
New housing colony in the same village by the same road side where the artisans inhabited since mid-1966. The shed in the right hand side locates the Co-operative Society of the artisans.

Sambhu's *Marai* (Grain-store) and cattleshed.
His blind mother-in-law is sitting by its side and his
nephew is standing with a mould of
Lakshminarayan.

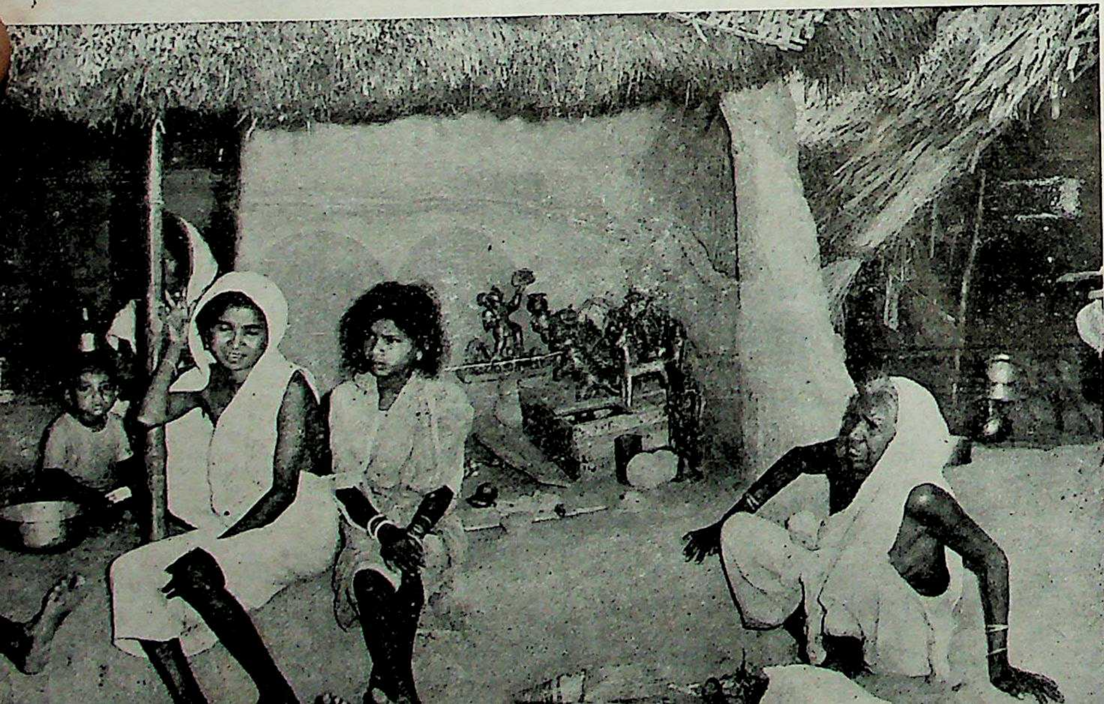


The moulds are being
sun-baked on the open lane.



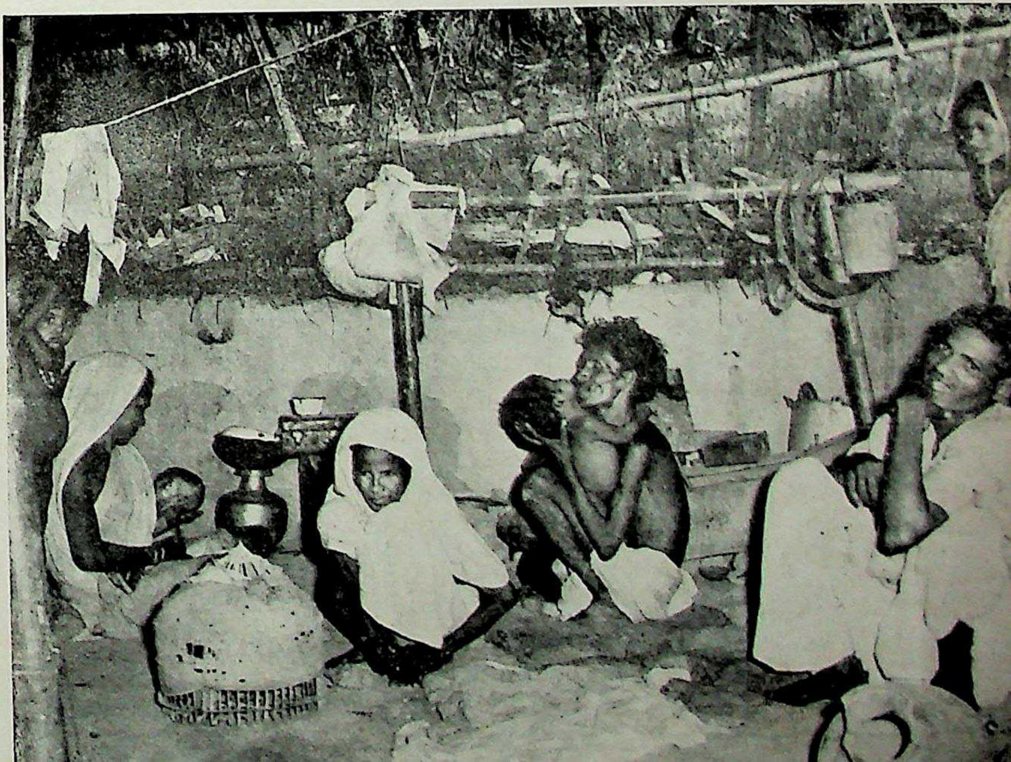


Badal's mother-in-law, wife and three daughters are seen busy in cooking outside the hut and their pet-dog *Tebi* is lying by the oven.

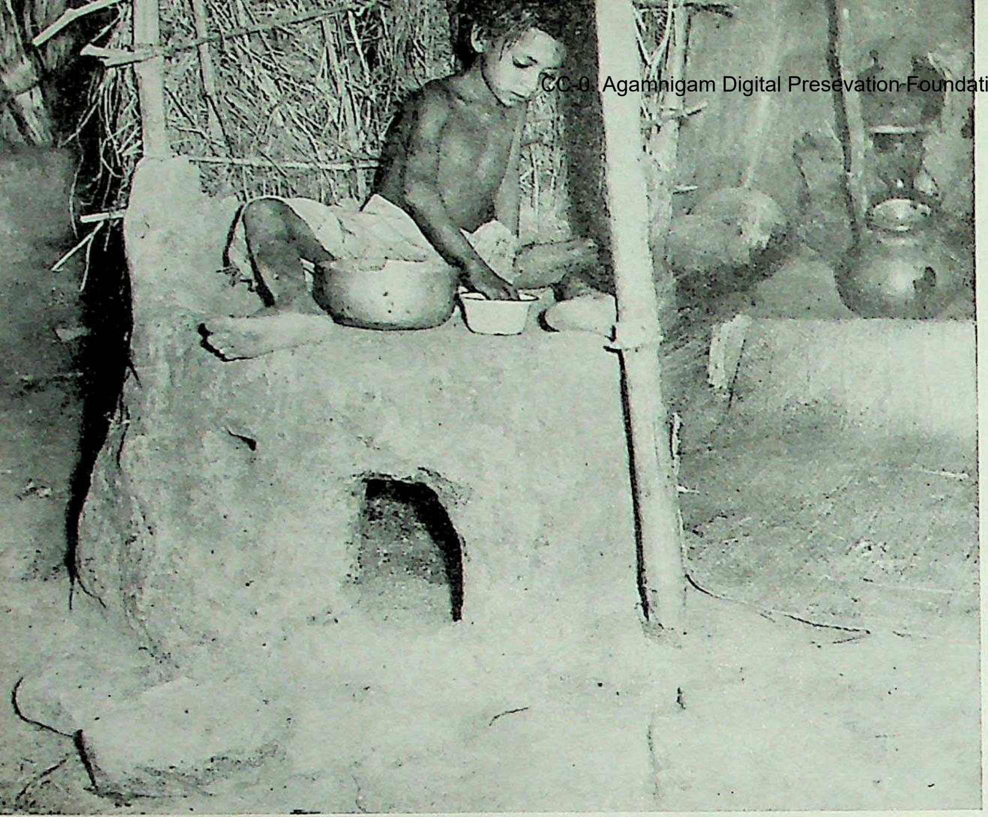


Badal's family are seen in their hut. A few finished products are kept by the wall-side.

Rasamay's family in his hut.



Rasamay is carressing his son.
His mother, wife and brother-in-law
are there in the room.



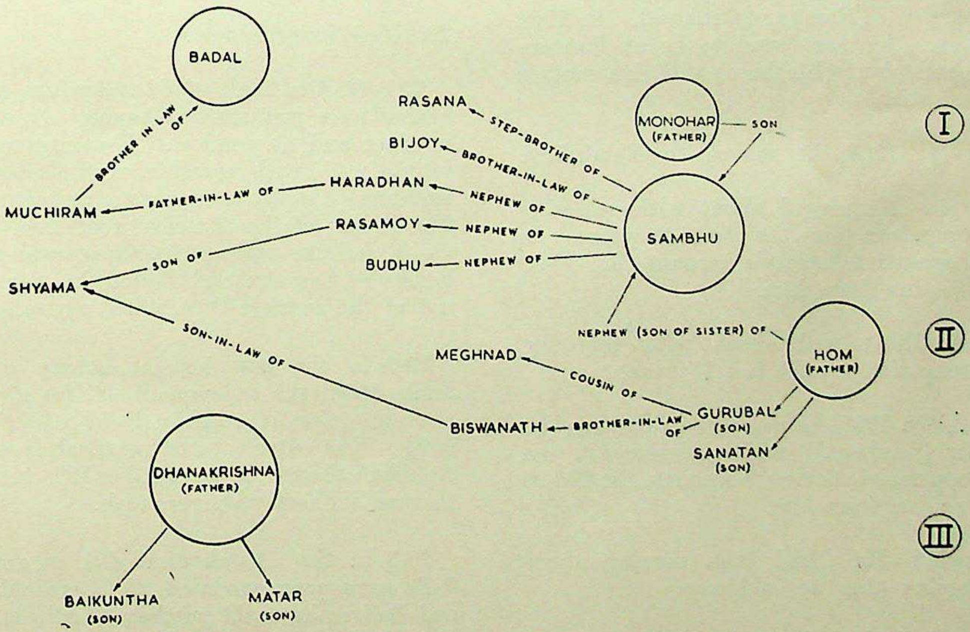
Daughter of Budhu is taking *Bāsibhāt* (stale rice) in the morning in a poultry house (*Hudrā*).

16 Sm. Sandhya (Daughter of Rasamoy)	Dariapur	Burdwan
17 Sm. Urmila (Daughter of Budhu)	Guskara	,,
18 Sm. Nirmala (Daughter of Budhu)	Eklakshmi	,,

17. The names of children of artisans are given below :

Name of artisan	Son	Daughter
1 Sambhu	Sukhamoy, Dukhamoy, Mahamoy, Rammoy.	Sibdasi
2 Baikuntha	Bhairab, Gairab, Adhir, Gangadhar, Bhagyadhar.	
3 Sanatan	Mangala	Durga, Saiba
4 Rasamoy	Kartik, Phanu, Jatan, Ratan, Tarun.	Bandi
5 Budhu	Hego, Baul	Mangali, Sirumali
6 Meghnad	Banamali	Puspa, Tulsi, Latika, Subarna
7 Bejoy	Bimal	
8 Matar	Amar, Bhramar	
9 Biswanath	Dukhamoy, Sibaram	Jagodhya, Kachi
10 Muchiram	Dukhen, Dhiren	Pachi, Tilaka
11 Badal	Narayan, Hari, Bhakta, Puran.	Niyati, Unnati
12 Gurubal	Pacha	Kalidasi, Umasasi
13 Syama		Manasa

18. The Malar artisans of Dariapur are closely related to each other. Chart given below will explain the position.


BADAL
BROTHER IN LAW OF
RASANA
STEP-BROTHER OF
MONOHAR (FATHER)
SON
I
BIJOY
BROTHER-IN-LAW OF
HARADHAN
NEPHEW OF
MUCHIRAM
FATHER-IN-LAW OF
RASAMOY
NEPHEW OF
SAMBHU
BUDHU
NEPHEW OF
SHYAMA
SON OF
NEPHEW (SON OF SISTER) OF
HOM (FATHER)
II
SON-IN-LAW OF
MEGHNAD
COUSIN OF
GURUBAL (SON)
BISWANATH
BROTHER-IN-LAW OF
SANATAN (SON)
DHANAKRISHNA (FATHER)
III
BAIKUNTHA (SON)
MATAR (SON)

✡ Here Brother-in-law means the husband of the sister

19. Even then, since 1964, upto June, 1967, there have been deserters from the settlement. They left for different places of Burdwan and Birbhum districts, where, mostly, there were already smaller settlements. The whereabouts of a few others were not known. The information obtained from the existing artisans are given overleaf.

1. Bansi—He had no house in new colony. After the death of his first wife, he remarried in village Eklakshmi (Burdwan) in 1964 and moved there. In Cooperative Society's account, Rs. 80·00 was due from him.

2. Prohlad—He had no house in new colony. He moved about with soldering occupation. In Cooperative Society's account, Rs. 140·00 was due from him.

3. Rakhahari—He had no house in new colony. In 1966, he went to village Nachansa in Ilambazar police station (Birbhum) for soldering work. In Cooperative Society's account, Rs. 298·00 was due from him.

4. Sankar—He moved to village Eklakshmi (Burdwan) in 1964, where he was married.

5. Balaram—In 1964, he moved to Natunhat in the neighbouring police station Mongalkote (Burdwan) for soldering work. In Cooperative Society's account, Rs. 180·00 was due from him. He married in Rampur (Bunkura). In 1968 March, he was found to be at Rautara near Bolpur (Birbhum) with his mother and wife.

6. Nadu—In 1964, he moved to Eklakshmi.

7. Kalipada—He moved about with soldering occupation for the last 2 years. In Cooperative Society's account, Rs. 50·00 was due from him.

8. Lakhai—He moved about with soldering occupation for the last 1½ year.

9. Rajani—In 1965, he moved to Ramchandrapur (Burdwan) with soldering kit. In Cooperative Society's account, Rs. 200·00 was due from him.

10. Janardan—He had been moving about begging due to old age.

11. Whereabouts of the second wife and her son of Dharani (since dead) were not known, who have left Dariapur.

12. Manik and Madhumangal, sons of Nagendra (since dead) moved to Nachansa in Ilambazar (Birbhum).

13. Bhutnath—He moved to Supur-Raipur village in Bolpur police station (Birbhum) in early 1965.

14. Kinkar—He moved to Eklakshmi (Burdwan) in early 1965.

15. Thakurdas—He moved to Muratipur (Bhatar police station, Burdwan) in early 1965.

16. Bhakta—His whereabouts were not known since he left Dariapur.

17. Bhikhu and Anil—were attached to Dariapur families in 1964, but were then found to be moving about in the villages of the surrounding police stations of Ausgram, Raina, Mongalkote, Bhatar and Burdwan for soldering jobs. They had good business in the winter and spring months of *Pous*, *Magh*, *Falgun* and *Chaitra*. They were used to visit generally the villages of Majhergram, Dignagar, Ramchandrapur, Seharabazar, Dauradanga, Dariapur, Sibda and Taljit.

20. *Their living places :*

20.1 On the bank of Ghatakpukur, the artisans' houses were just shelters having low or no plinth, no door and no window. The entrance was generally 4′×2½′ with movable, mud-plastered bamboo-splinters (*Jhamp*) serving as a protection at night. The height of the thatched roof from bottom was 6′—8′ and the average floor-space was 8′×6′. The houses of Sambhu and Baikuntha were better and not of the average type stated above.

20.2 In the new housing colony completed in June, 1966, the accommodation for all the houses excepting that of Sambhu is 14′×10′. The height is 9½′. The outer covered verandah is six feet wide. Sambhu's house is 26′×10½′×12′, with an outer covered six feet wide verandah.

20.3 In the Ghatakpukur site, an area of about 0·45 acres accommodated 29 households. Sambhu and Baikuntha could purchase small plots of cultivable land. In the new housing colony, a land of slightly more than one acre was purchased by the Society at a price of Rs. 1,700·00 from Sri Balaram Goswami of the adjacent village of Gopinathbati. The adjoining high land (cultivable waste) of one acre in eastern side of Society's premises belonging to Sri Mritunjoy Goswami of Gopinathbati is being used by artisans as pasture land for their goats and cows. There is an apprehension amongst the artisans that they may not be allowed to use it any further.

20.4 There is one tubewell and one tank, yet to be properly dug, in the Housing Colony. The tank has an area of 14 *Kathas* and is in account of Sambhu and Baikuntha. Sambhu and Baikuntha who had 1/3 and 1·1/6 acres of own land respectively in 1963 have 5/6 and 2·5 acres in 1967 June.

20·5 Each house in the new colony was constructed by the families themselves with own labour. No brick was used. It has mud walls, bamboo-frames inside and thatch roof. Plinth is two feet. The new place will be about two furlongs in the north of the old one by the Guskara-Mankar Road side.

2

MALARKAR (DOKRA) DHARAL KAJ (HOLLOW-CASTING WORK OF MALARS) OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN) COMMUNITY

The Traditional items of production

The items now produced after the artisans have been trained and a Cooperative Society formed in 1962

Classification of products according to size

Merit of artisans

2

MALARKAR (DOKRA) DHARAL KAJ (HOLLOW-CASTING WORK OF MALARS) OF DARIAPUR (BURDWAN) COMMUNITY

The Malar artisans of Dariapur identify their products as Malarkar Dharal Kaj (*i.e.*, Casting work of Malars).

2. Traditionally, the following are the items of products :

1 *Pai* (Grain measuring bowls) of five pieces. One *Seer*, 14 *Chatak*, 12 *Chatak*, eight *Chatak*, two *Chatak*, one *Chatak*, half *Chatak* capacity.
2 Hindu goddess *Lakshmi* on *Dola* and elephant.
3 Elephant.
4 Owl.
5 Bell for workship(*Ghanta*).
6 Anklet for livestock (*Ghunur*).
7 Hindu gods like *Jagannath, Narayan, Siva, Ganesh.* Generally these were of small sizes upto three inches to four inches height.

3. With the association of the artisans with the Regional Design Centre of the All India Handicrafts Board at Calcutta since 1959, the new items of conspicuous consumption and the old items with improved and bigger designs have been taken up by the trained ones. A list is given below to show the 92 items produced by Sri Sambhu Karmakar in 1964 :

1 Big Flower Vase on three legs.
2 Tumbler (Big).
3 Tumbler (Short).
4 Small Oval Tray (Border perforated design).
5 Flower Vase on three legs (Medium size).
6 Small Flower Vase.
7 Small Elephant.
8 *Pradip* (Small).
9 Big Elephant with *Dhoopdani* or incense-burner on the trunk.
10 *Lakshmi-Narayan*—Elephant with five lamps and two figures riding.
11 *Pancha-Pradip*—Elephant with five lamps, one rider and incense-burner on the top with handle.
12 Rose-bowl on three legs.
13 Peacock (Slim).
14 *Dhunuchi* (Incense-burner).
15 *Lota* (Water vessel).
16 Round solid plate on three legs.
17 Round Powder Box.
18 Peacock (Fat).
19 Goddess *Lakshmi.*
20 *Dhoopdani* (for incense stick).
21 *Ravana.*
22 Goddess *Lakshmi* riding on Owl.
23 Lord *Jagannath* (one figure).
24 Round Fruit Tray (absolutely perforated design).
25 Oval Tray (Elongated).
26 Owl (Big).
27 Camel.
28 Hen (Big).
29 Hanuman with hill on hand.
30 Peacock (Big).
31 Round Tray (Border perforated).

32 *Gajalakshmi* (q figure on elephant).

33 *Pradip* (Big).

34 Figure with one *Pradip* and handle.

35 Figure (Toy).

36 *Krishnalila*—on pedestal (four figures in one group and three figures in individual group).

37 *Rashleela* (four figures on top of four figures. Total eight figures on Elephant, *Dhoopdani* on trunk and shade on top).

38 *Jagatdhatri* (Goddess with umbrella riding on tiger).

39 *Lord Siva* (with *Damaru*, drum in each hand and serpent on head).

40 Figure on *Sugrev* (Monkey of Ramayana Epic).

41 *Panchaghat*.

42 Kalka Design Tray.

4. The following list will show the items that could be produced by the other Dariapur artisans in 1964 :

(1) *Sri Baikuntha Karmkar* :
Item Nos :—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41 and 42.

(2) *Sri Sanatan Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—1, 2, 3. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 18, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 41 and 42.

(3) *Sri Budhu Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 41.

(4) *Sri Matar Karmakar* :
Item Nos-—1, 2; 3, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34, and 35.

(5) *Sri Haradhan Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, and 41.

(6) *Sri Rasamoy Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 26, 27, 28, 32, 33, 34 and 35.

(7) *Sri Meghnad Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 32, 33, 34, and 35.

(8) *Sri Bansi Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 13, 15, 19, 20, 23, 32, 33 and 35.

(9) *Sri Prahlad Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 15, 19, 20, 23, 33, 34, and 35.

(10) *Sri Nagendra Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 15, 20, 23, 33, 34, and 35.

(11) *Sri Bijoy Karmakar* :
Item Nos. : —2, 3, 7, 8, 19, 20, 23, 33, 34, and 35.

(12) *Sri Rakhahari Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—2, 3, 7, 8, 19, 20, 23, 33, 34, and 35.

(13) *Sri Sankar Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 15, 19, 23, 33, 34 and 35.

(14) *Sri Balaram Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 15, 19, 23, 33 and 34.

(15) *Sri Muchiram Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 15, 19, 23, 33 and 34.

(16) *Sri Biswanath Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 23, 33, 34 and 35.

(17) *Sri Nadu Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

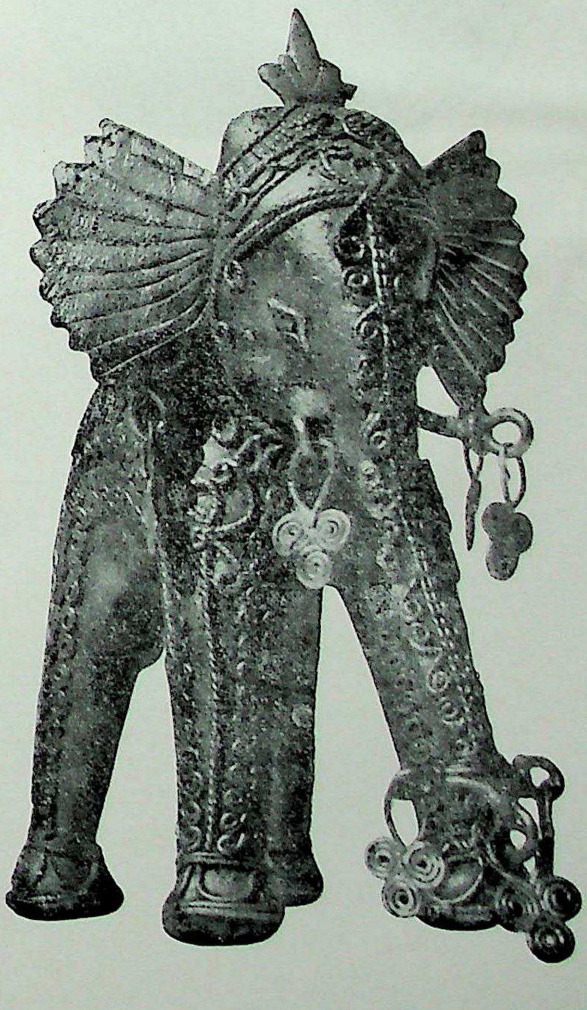
(18) *Sri Badal Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22, and 23.

(19) *Sri Gurubal Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

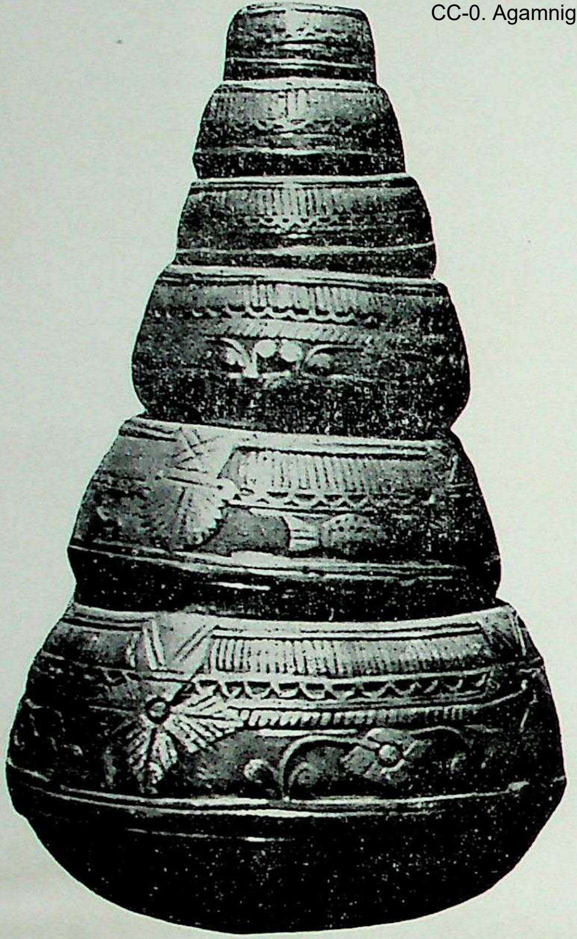
(20) *Sri Kalipada Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22, and 23.

(21) *Sri Lakhai Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

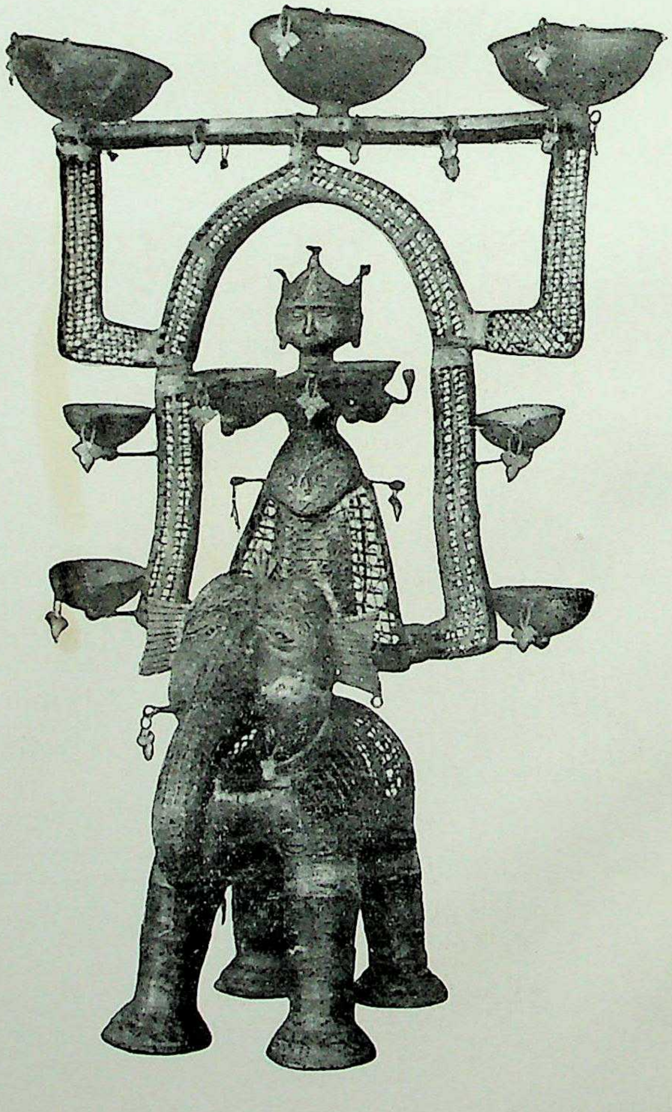
(22) *Sri Rajanikanta Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :— 7, 8, 22 and 23.



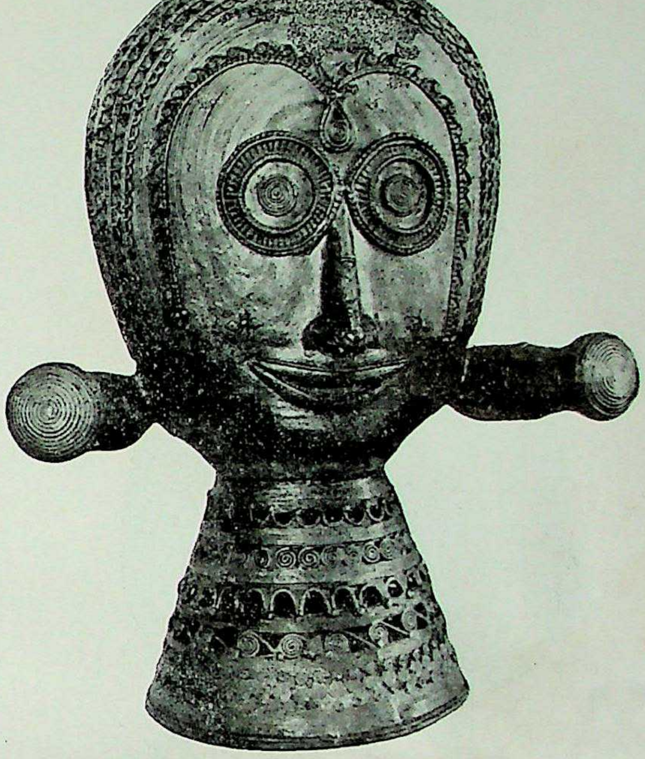
A decorated elephant—a traditional article.



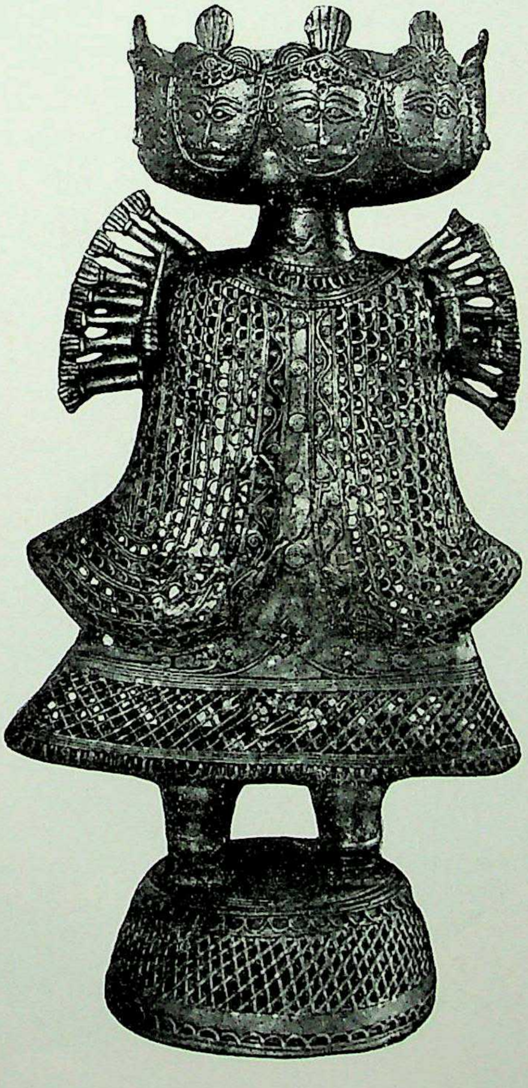
A set of six grain-measuring bowls
—a traditional article.



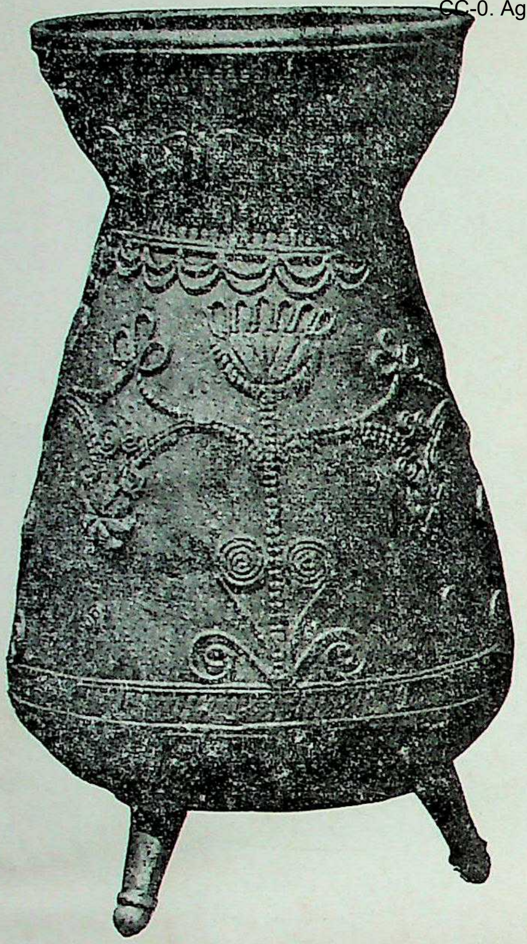
Figurine of *Gaja-Lakshmi*
with attached lampstand—an article,
representing a design with old and new traits, made
at the instance of the Regional Design Centre.



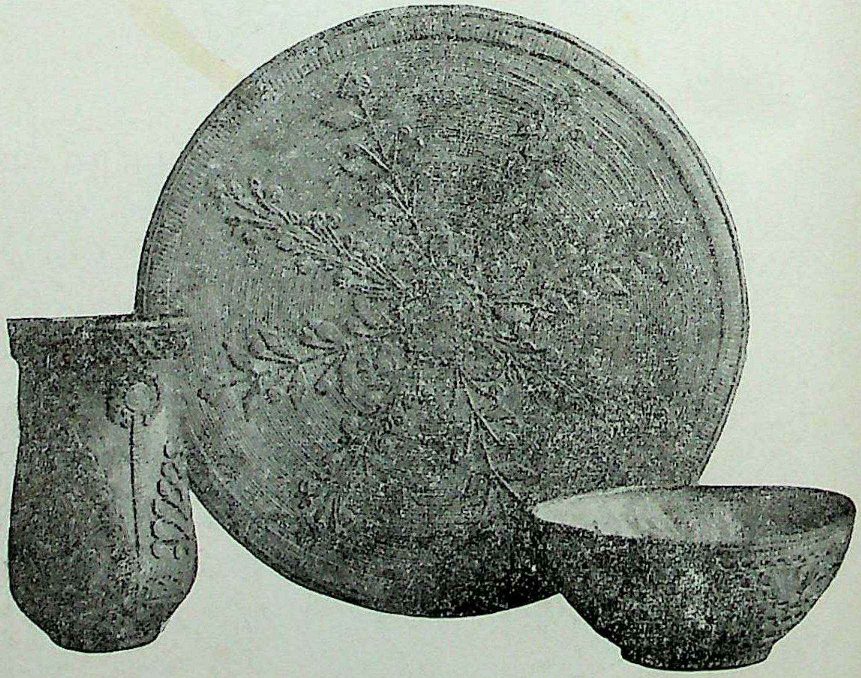
Figurine of *Jagannath*—an old item made a new by the introduction of an Orissan Design by the Regional Design Centre at Calcutta.



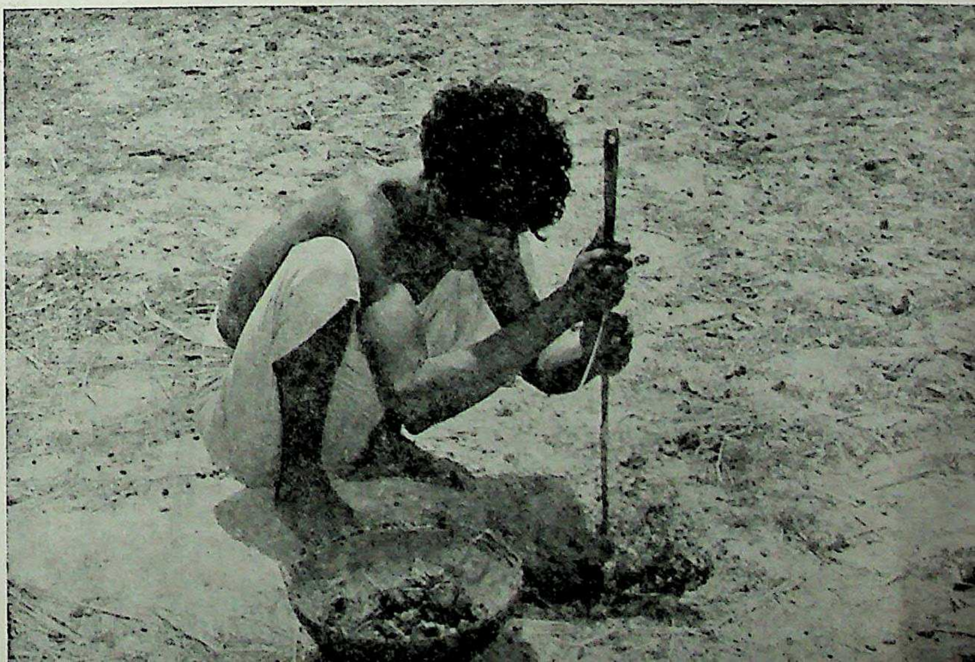
Ravana—an old wood-work design reproduced in metal at the instance of the Regional Design Centre.



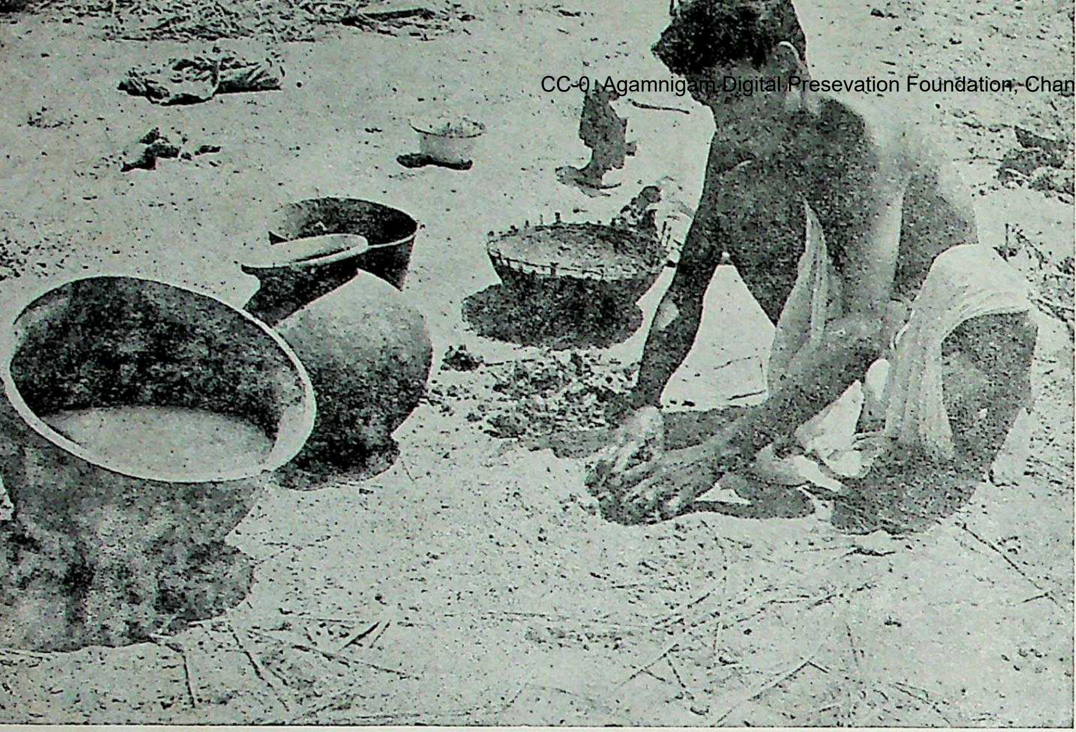
Flower Vase made at the instance
of the Regional Design Centre.



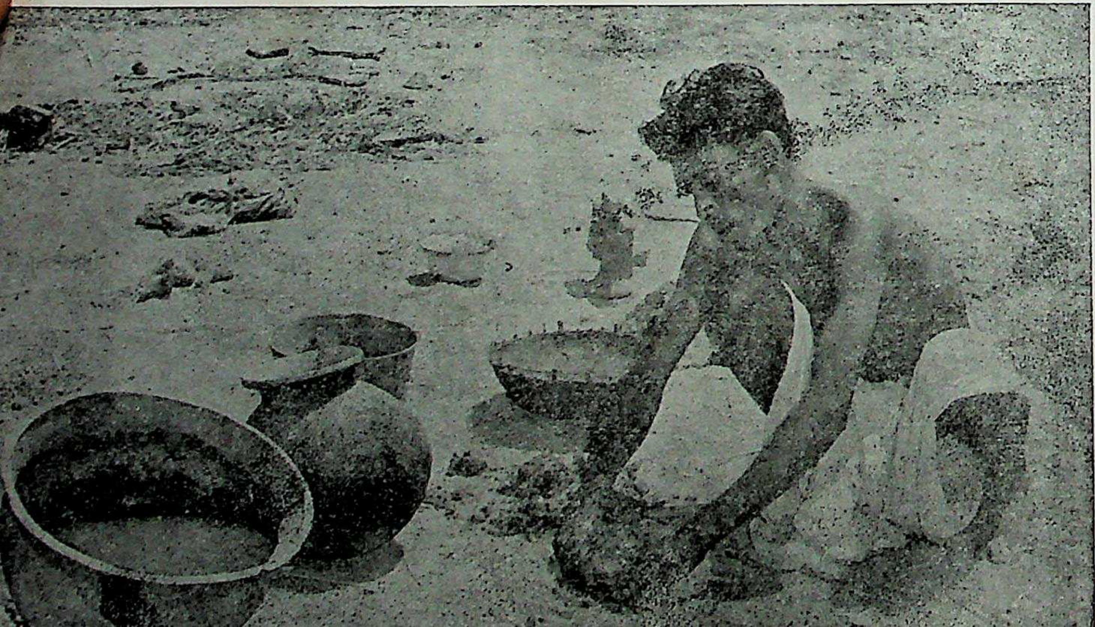
Plate, Tumbler and Bowl made
at the instance of the Regional Design Centre.



Earth being dug up with the help of a *Sabal* (crowbar).

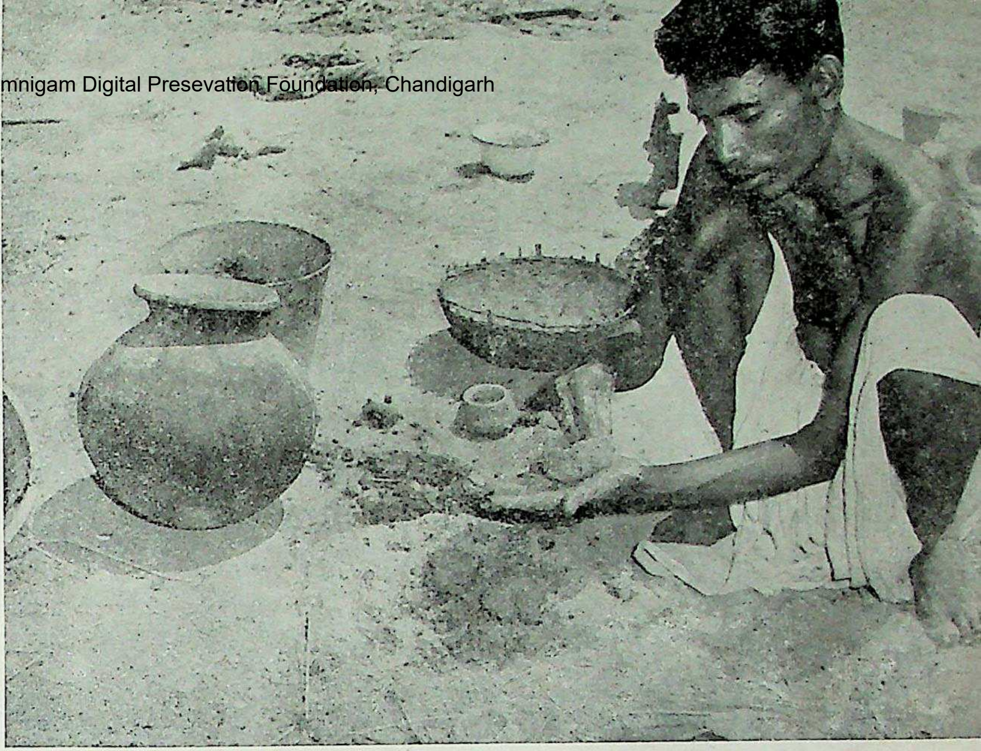


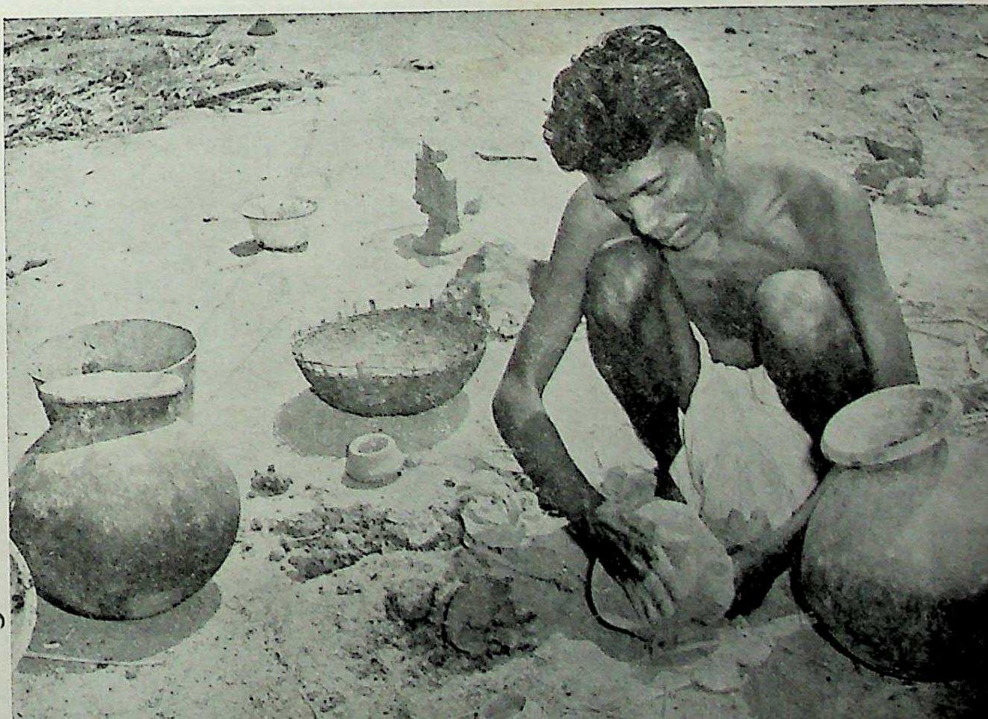
Husk being mixed with mud to get *Tunsmati*. The earthen vessel contains water and the baskets contain husk and mud.



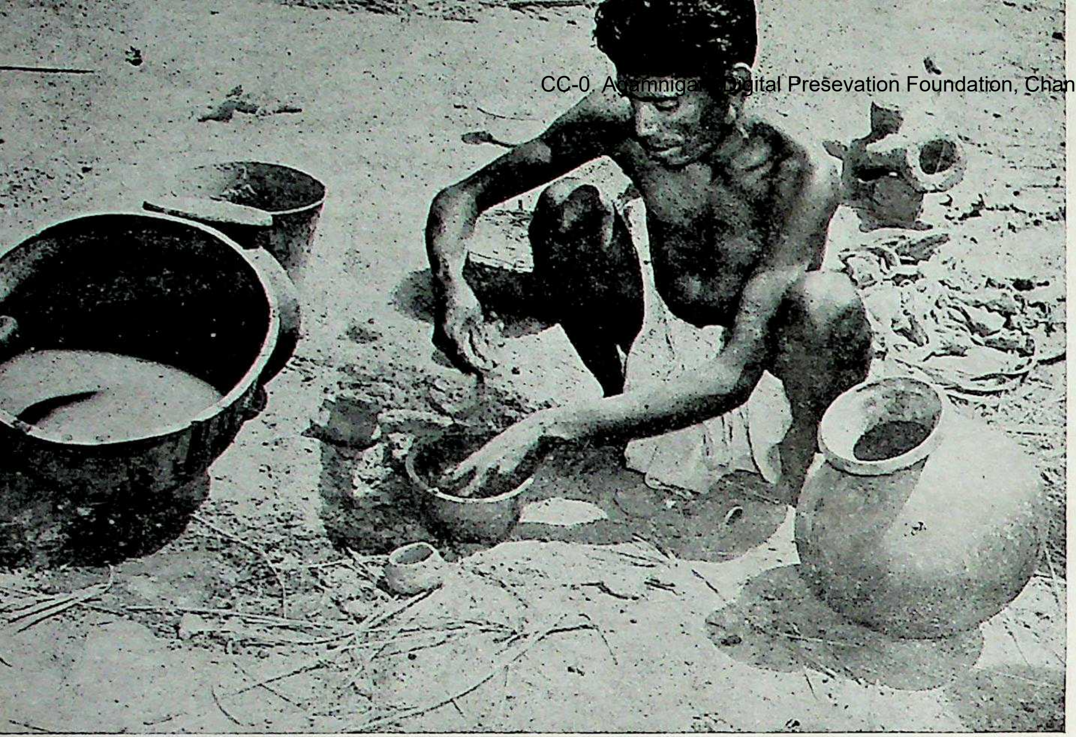
A core (*Thensa*) for a covered bowl being given shape with *Tunsmati*.

The core being shaped further and care being taken to see that the proper size and shape of the core is attained.

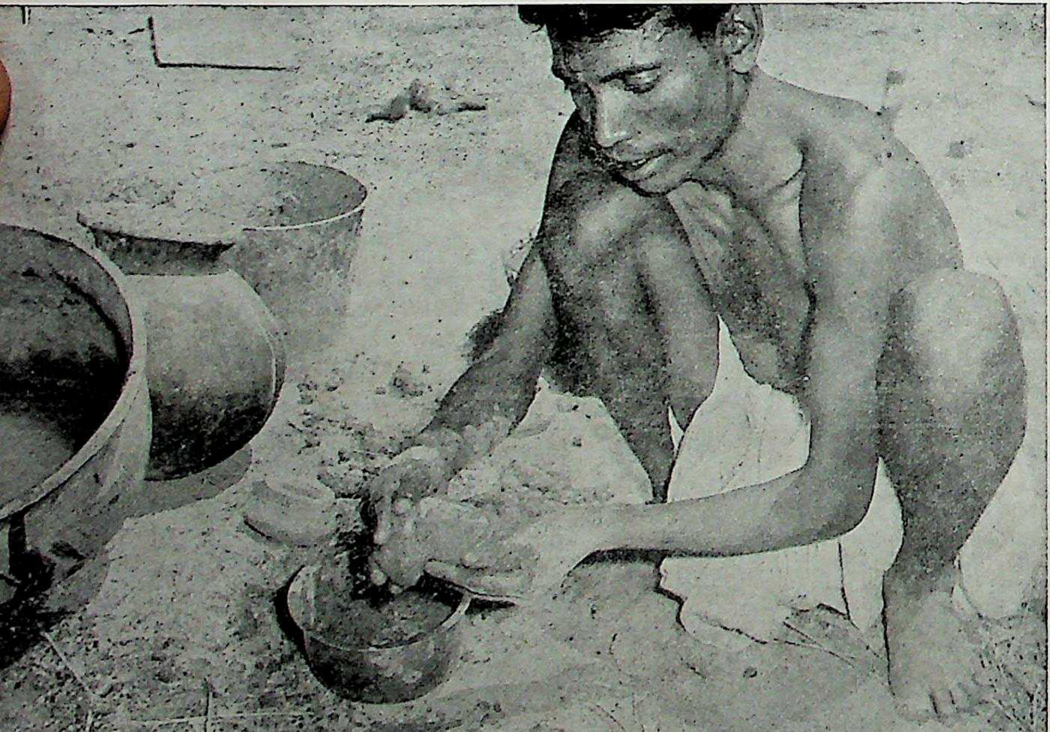




Jharalmati (cleansed dust-powder of earth) being obtained by sissving powdered earth through a piece of linen.



More *Tunsmati* being prepared with husk and earth for further clay work. The fingers of right hand control the flow of husk.



A thin coat of *Jharalmati* being given on the core made of *Tunsmati*.

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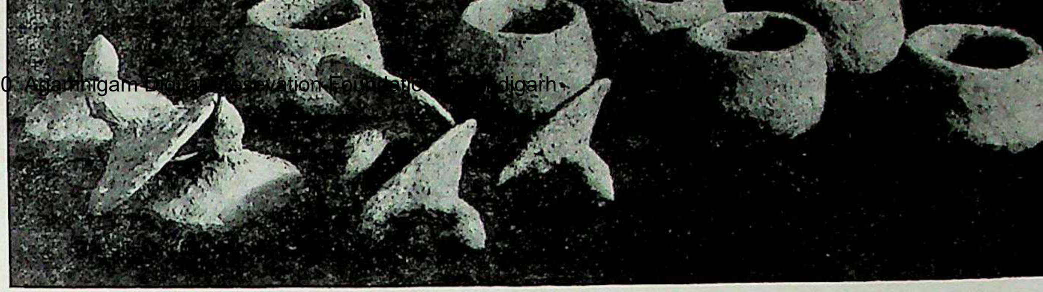
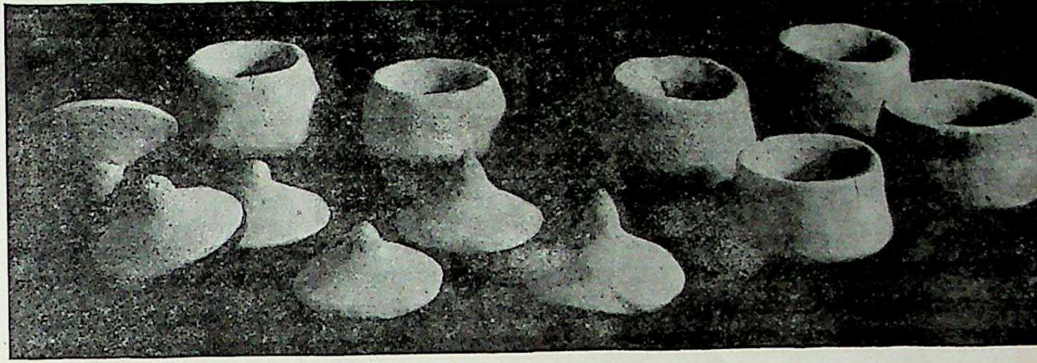
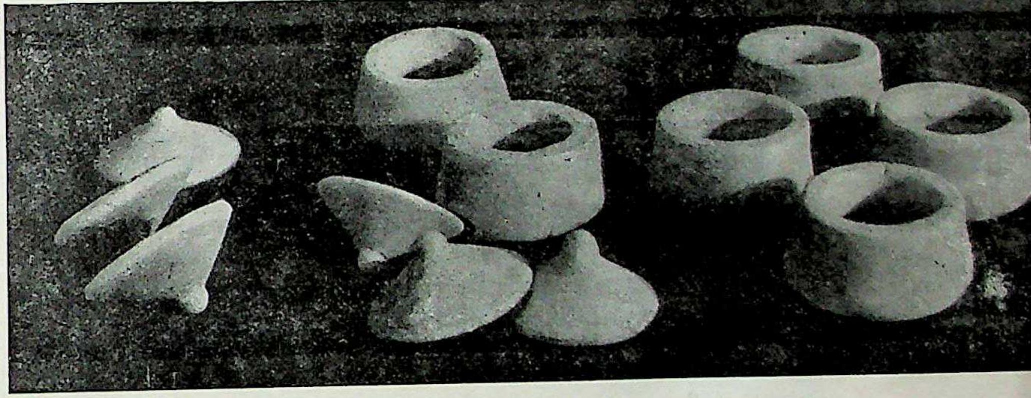


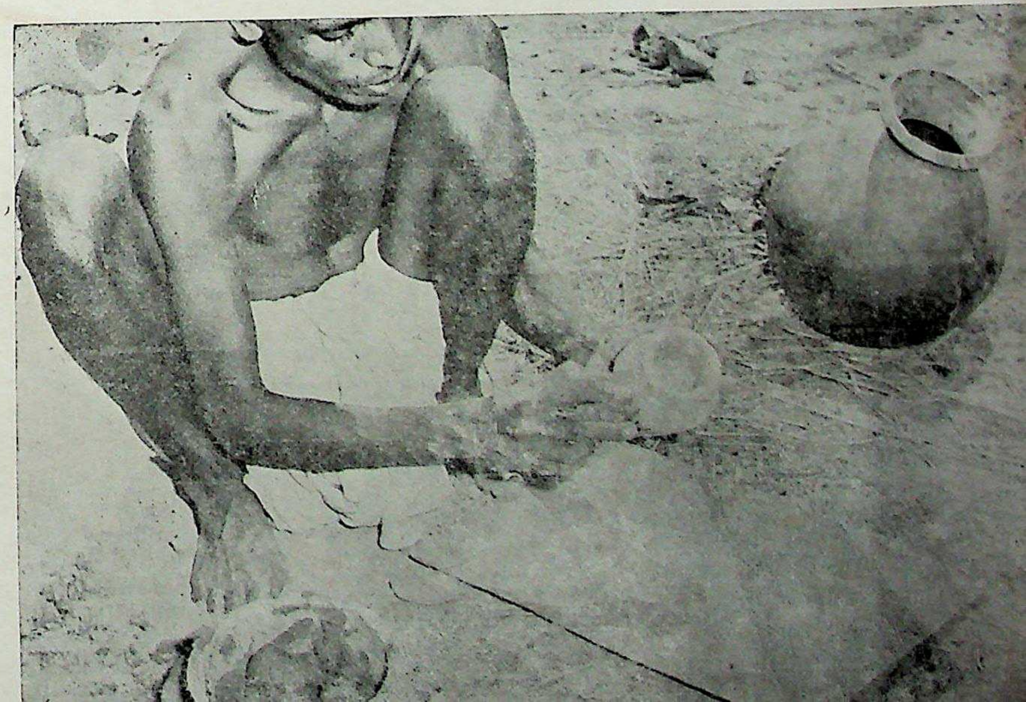
Cores in crude shape.



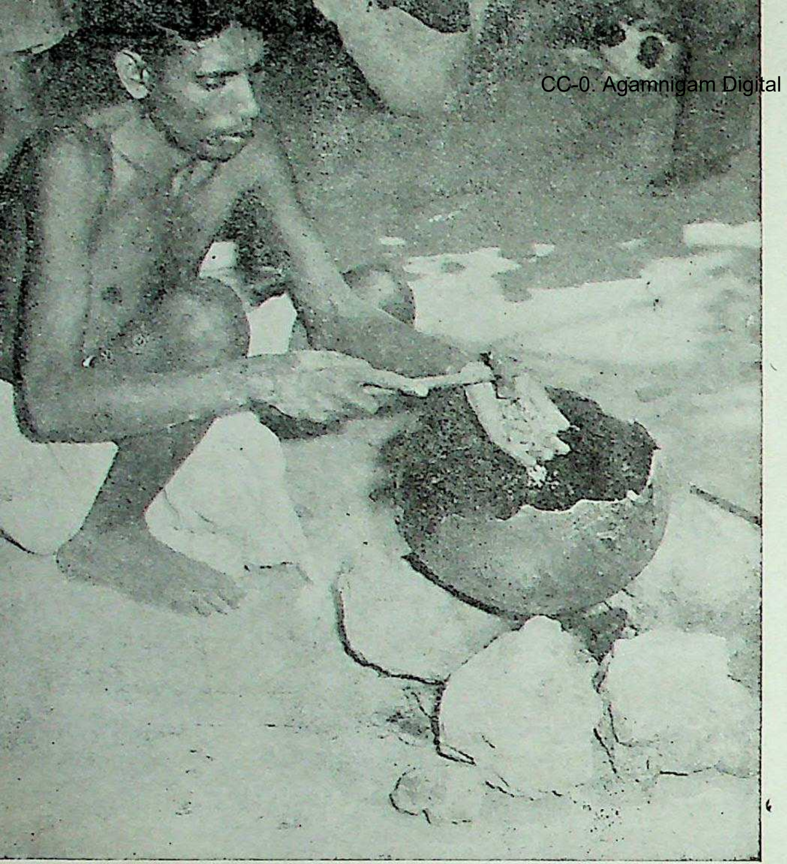
Half-finished cores.



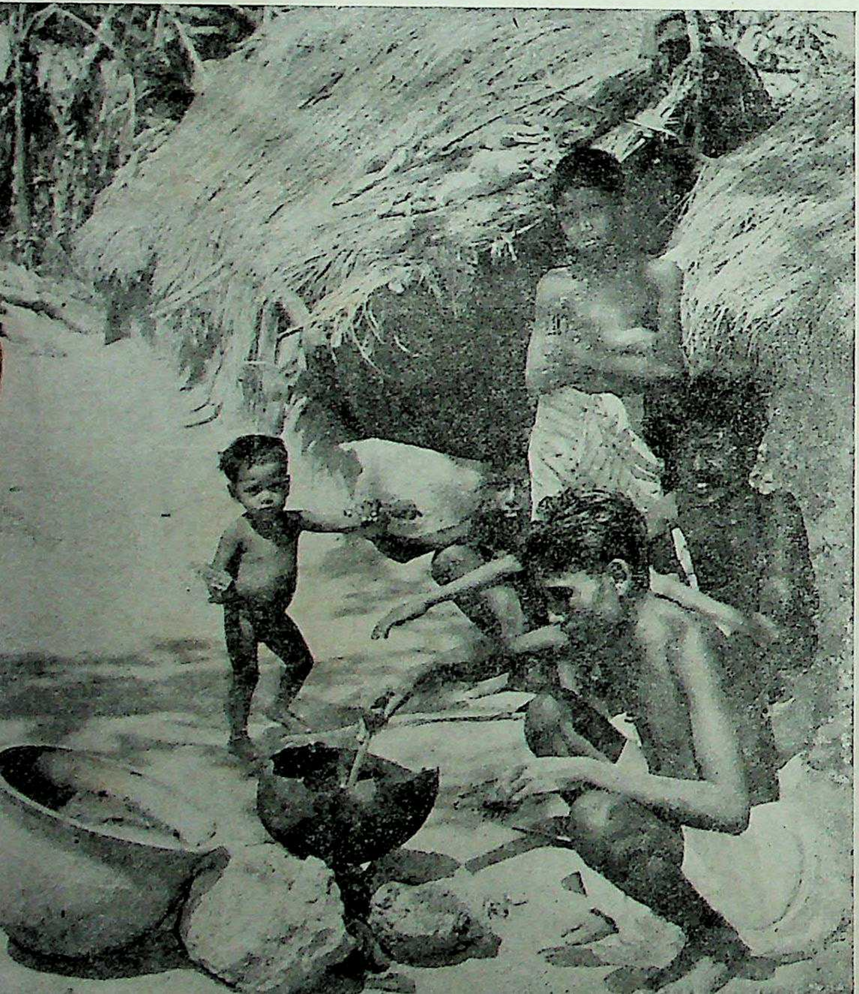
Cores in the finished stage



A dried core being polished after the application of *Tunsmati* and *Jharalmati* with the broken pieces of a teracotta pot.



Dhuna (Resin) clusters being scrapped with a scrapper to get small bits of resin falling on the earthen vessel containing mustard oil and placed on an oven supported by mud-chunks. This is for the preparation of *Loi* (Rods) of resin.



The molten mixture of resin and mustard oil in the vessel being stirred with the handle of a scrapper to make it homogeneous.

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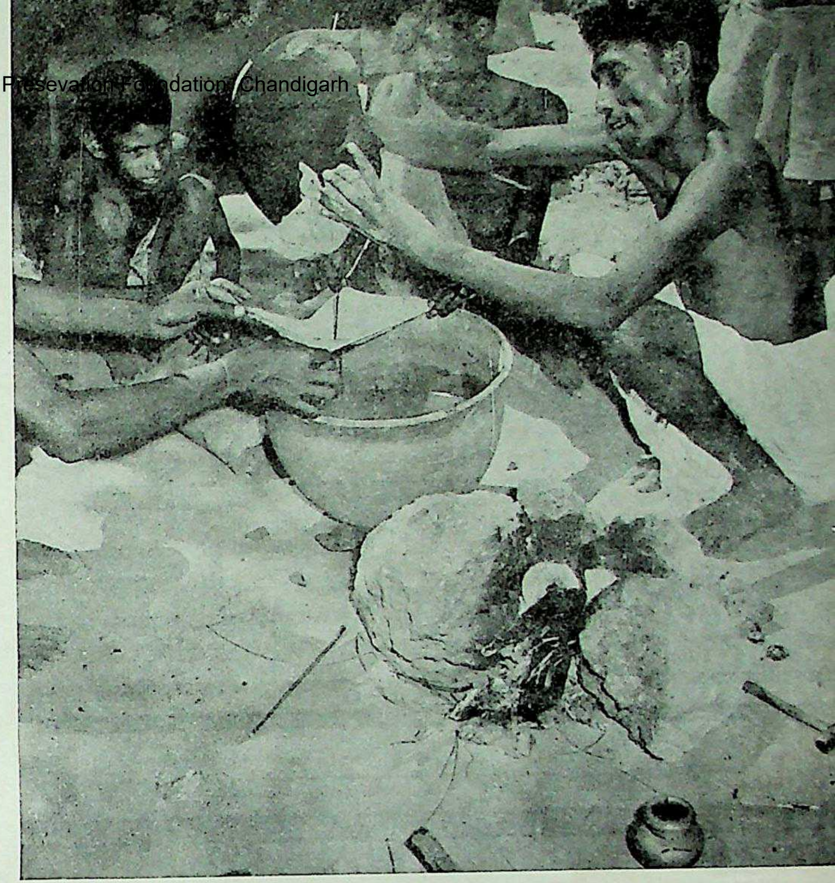
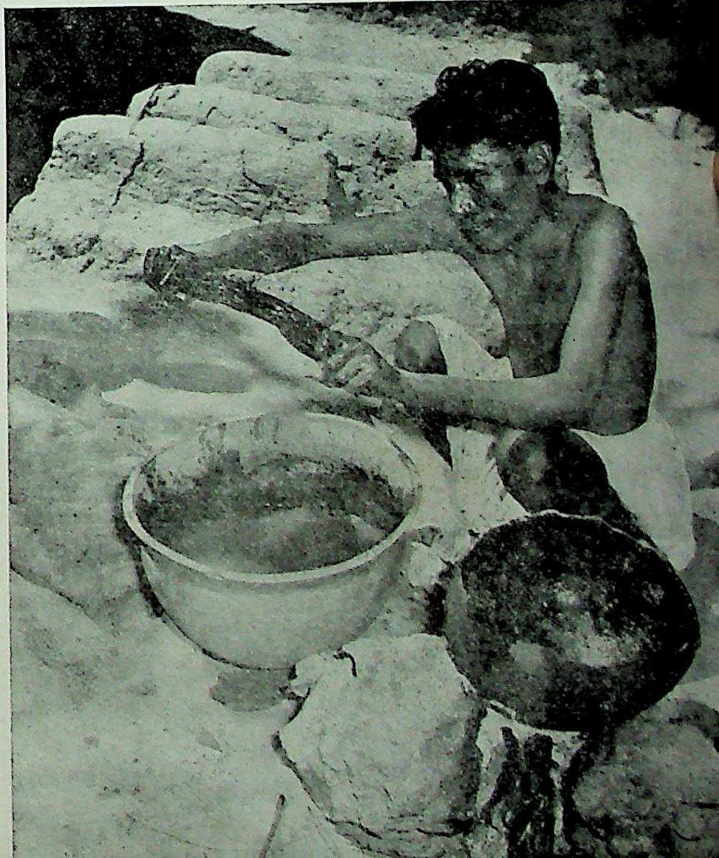
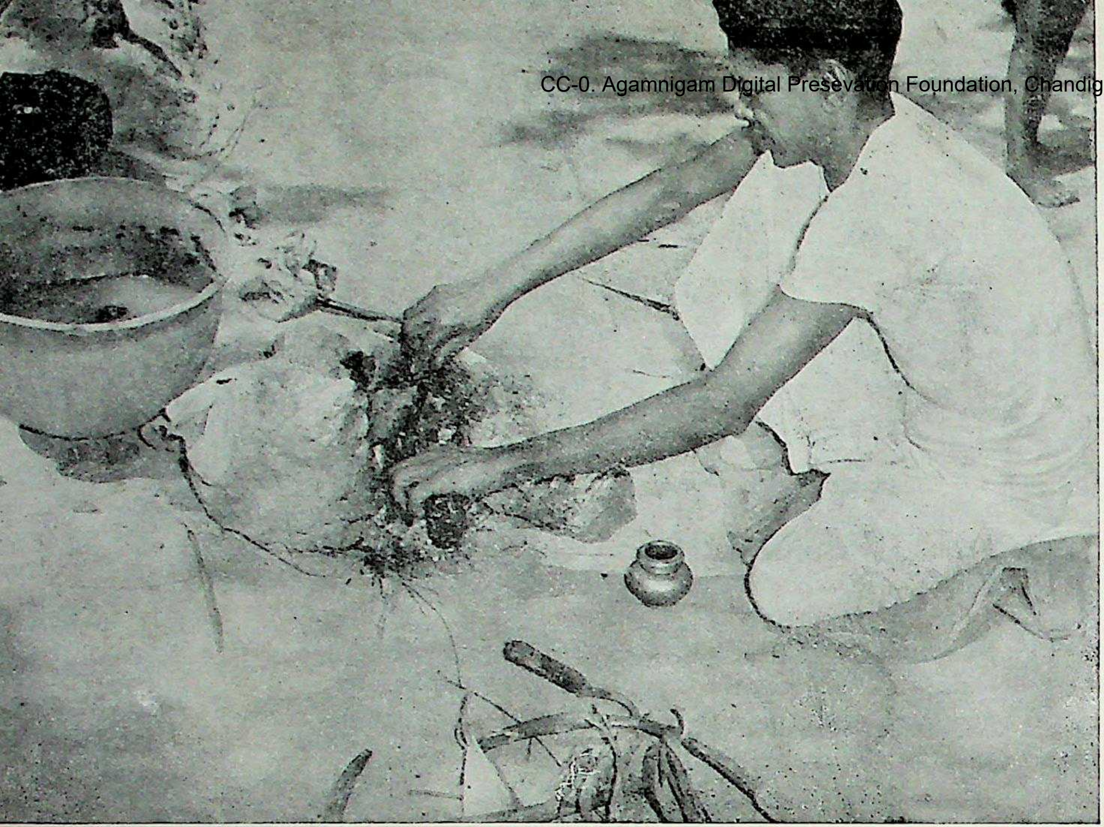
The molten mixture being filtered through a piece of linen and poured into an earthen vessel containing cold water.

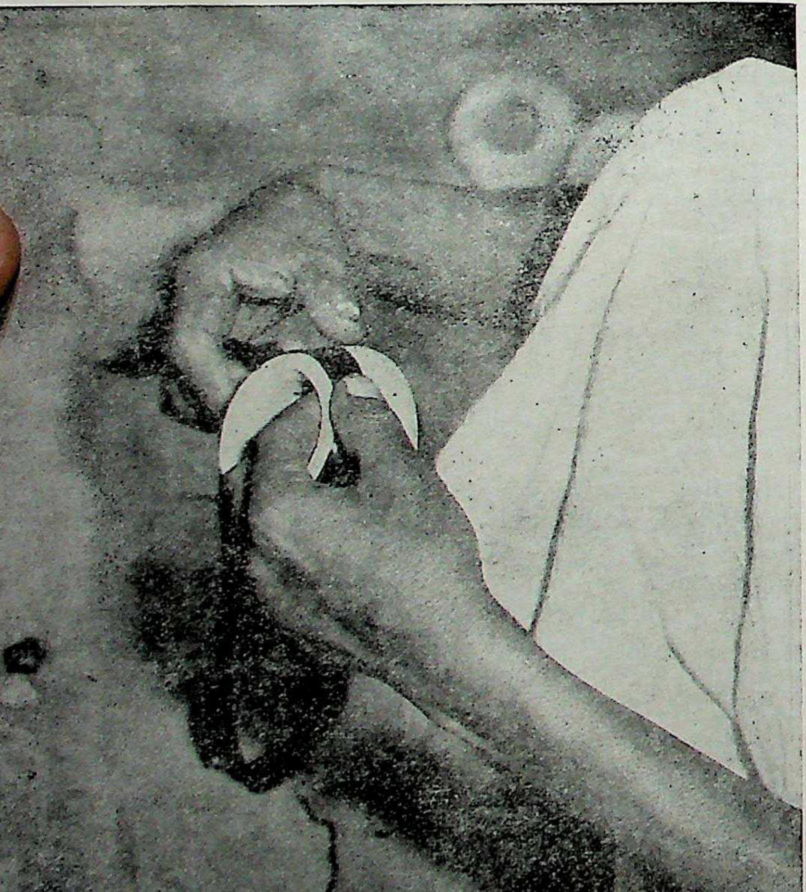




The mild hot and soft resinous compound being stretched to make bars with a diameter of one inch to one inch and a half.

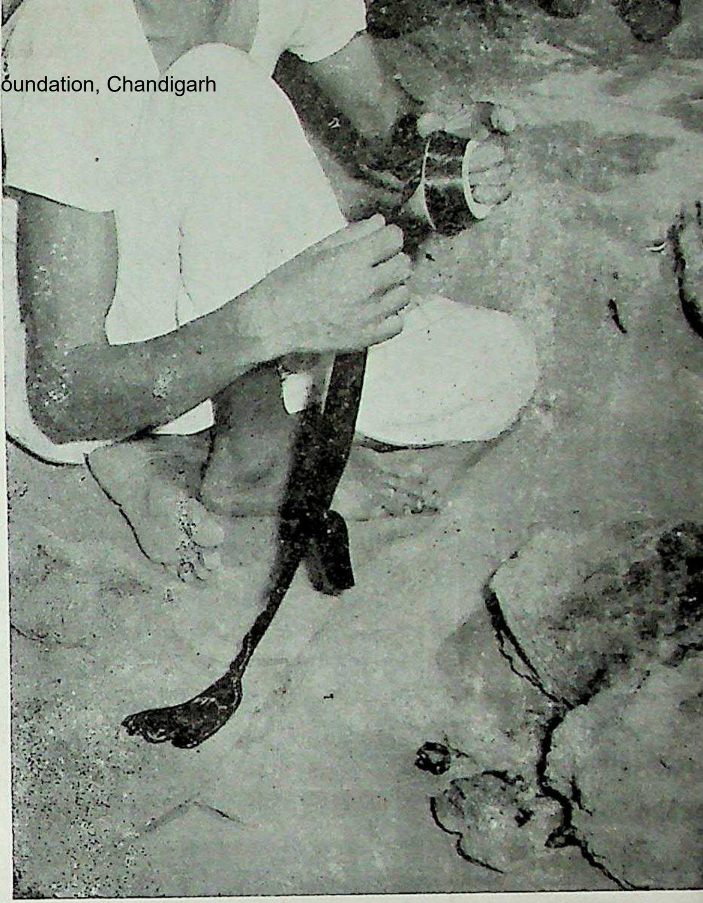


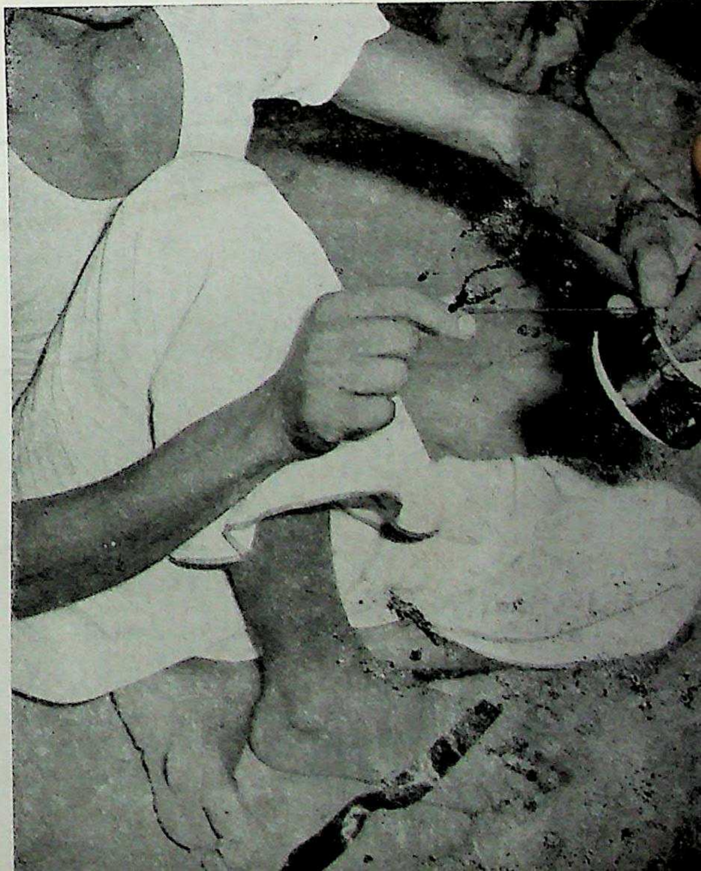
The resinous compound is again put on mild fire to make it suitably sticky for drawing out threads necessary for the work of designing it elastic enough to be stretched out it threads necessary for design work.



Strips of resin-wax being fixed on and wound to round the outer surface of a core and fixed thereon with light pressure of fingers while rotating the core slowly.

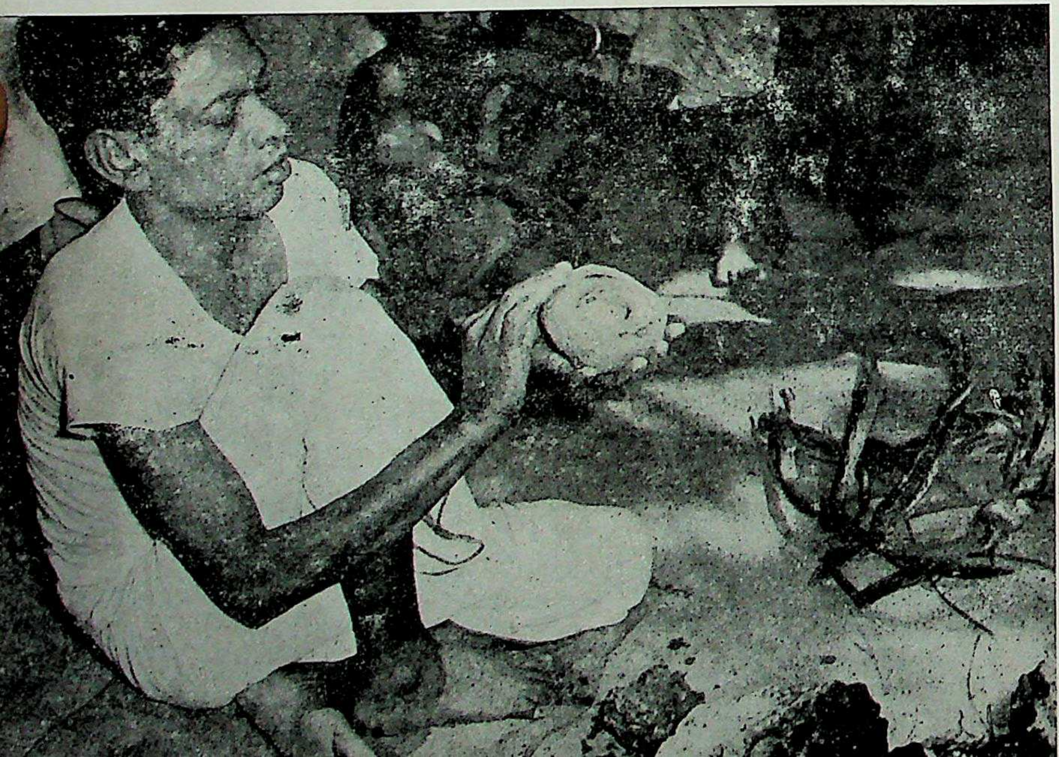
The strips being fixed on a core with care so that desired thickness of the strip fixed on the core is uniformly maintained. An oven closely placed helps in heating the strip to make it soft, whenever necessary.





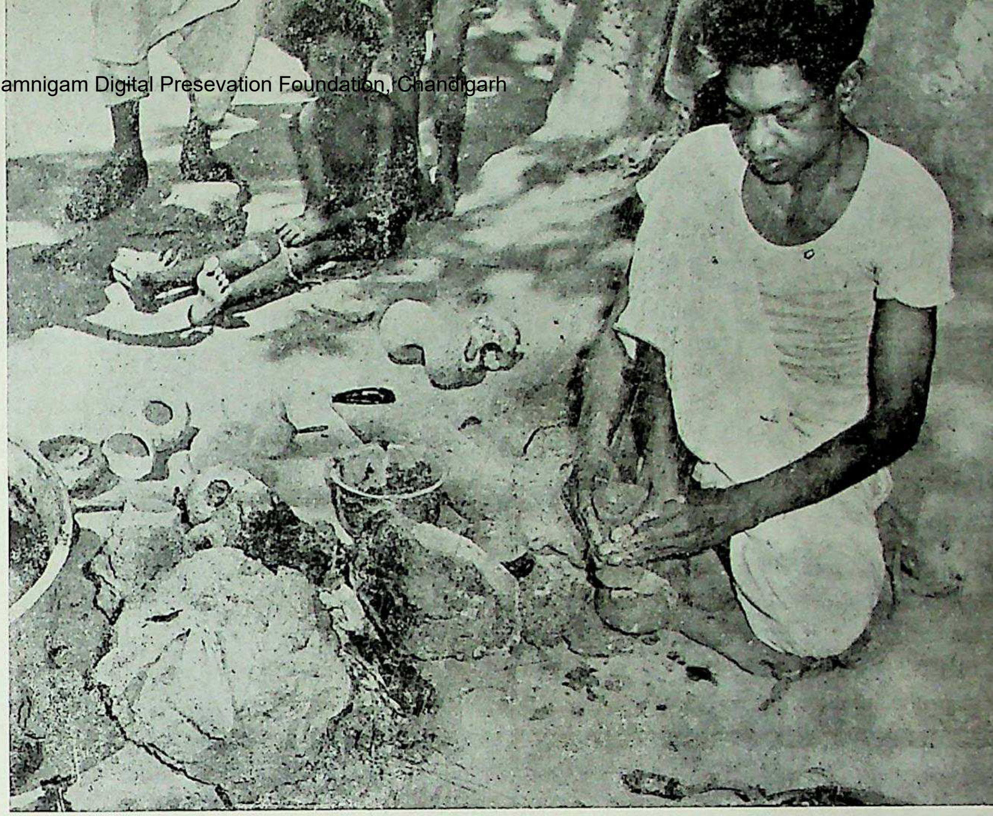
Finer threads being fixed for decorative purpose on the surface of a core plastered with resinous wax. Symmetrical relief designs being worked out with skilful manipulation of fingers of the left hand, the right hand holding one end of the thread.

Further work of decoration being made with the help of a small blade of iron, known as *Ketni*.

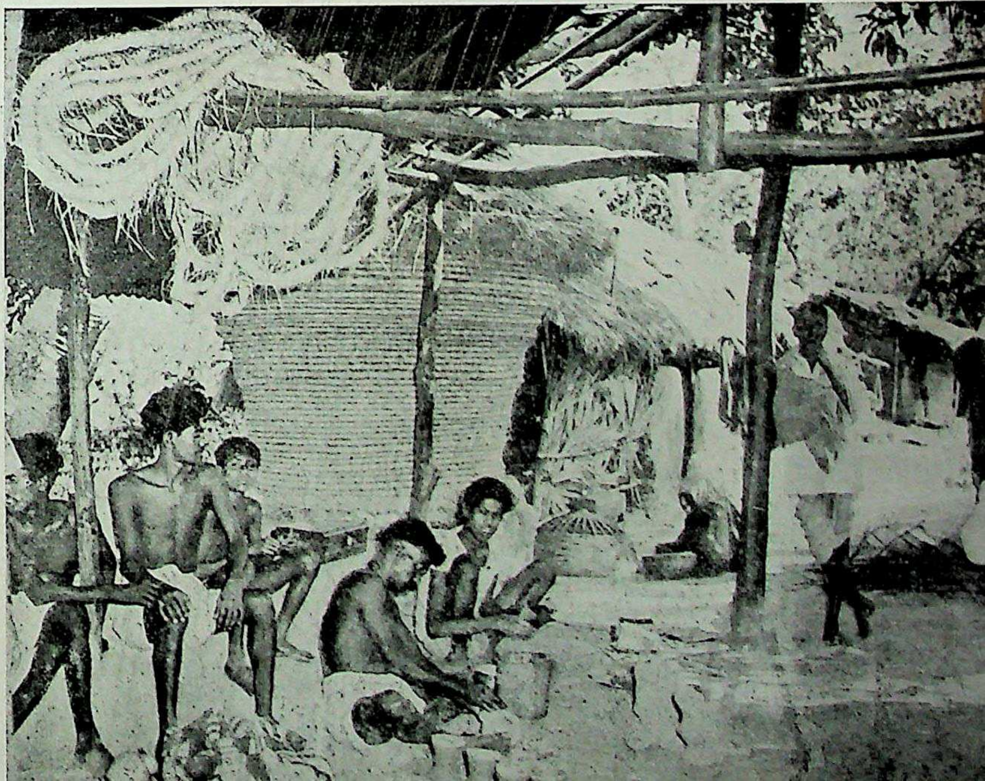


With the outer surface pasted and decorated with wax resins, the core being converted into a mould of thick plaster with a mixture of clay, sand and husk.

Gheria (crucible) being made with *Tunsmati* on the mould of a core.



Gheria Nara (complete mould) being made by attaching a *Gheria* (crucible) to a dried mould.



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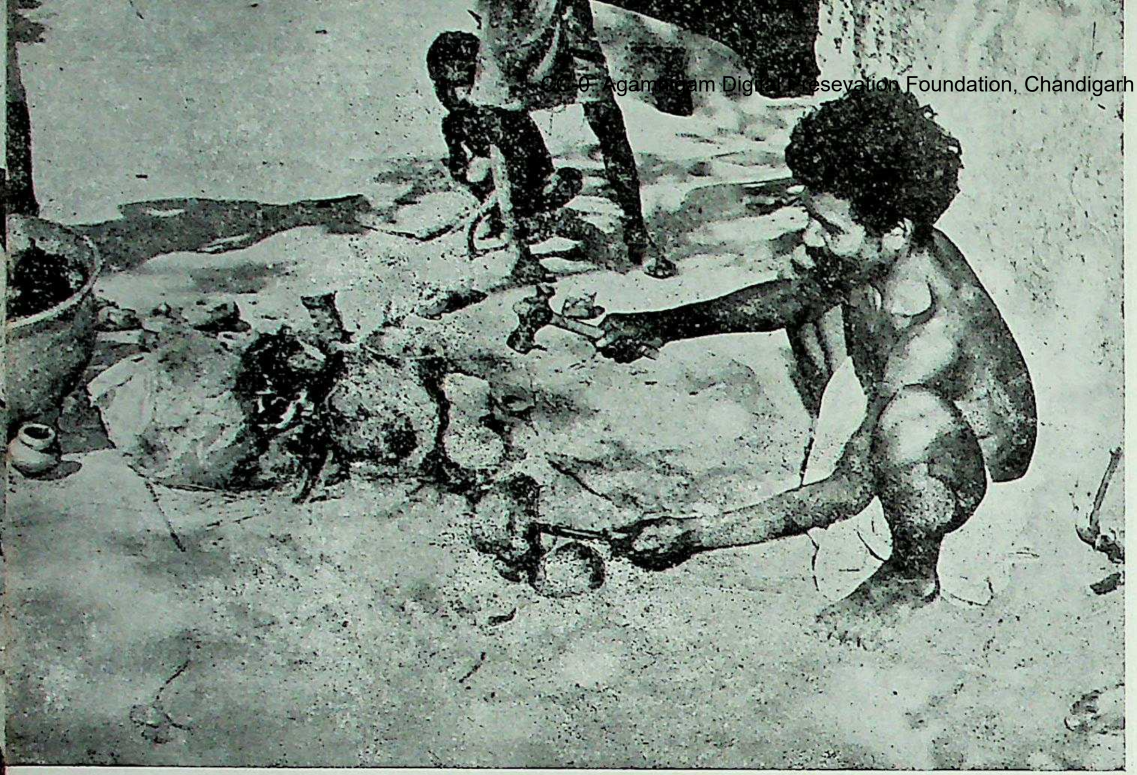
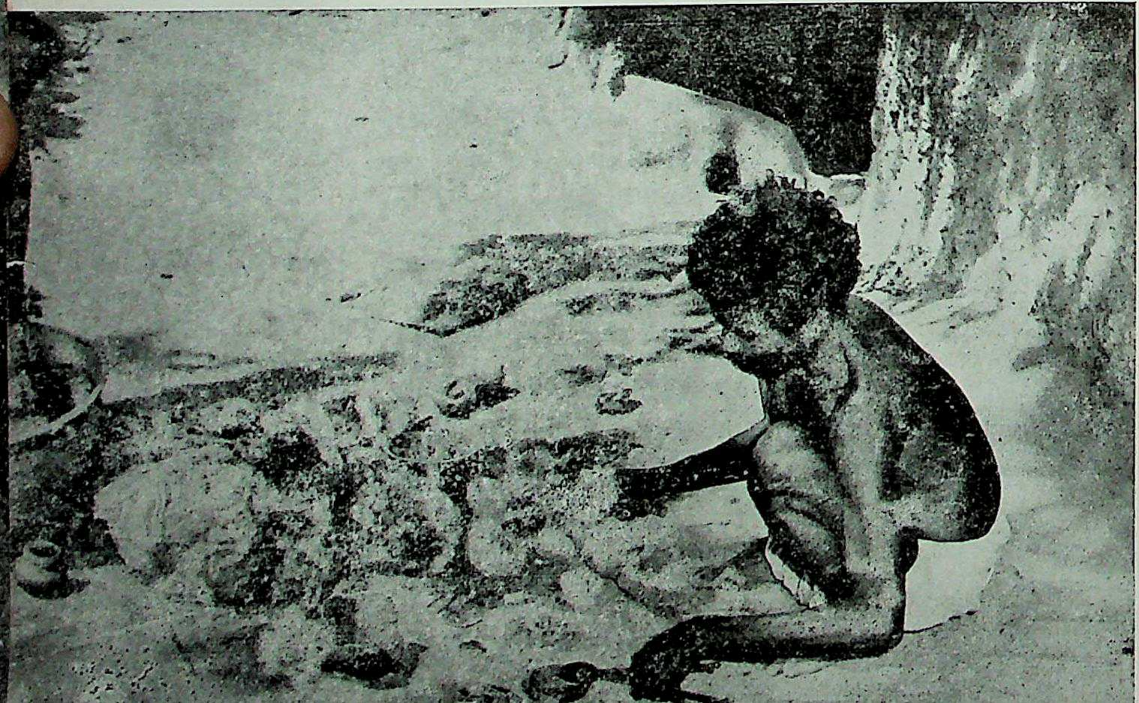


An old brass utensil held with a pair of tongs, after heat-treatment being broken to scraps with a ball-pane hammer—the mould-*cum*-crucible being dried by the side of the oven.



Pitar (small fragments) being obtained from large-sized scraps of brass by further hammering.

(23) *Sri Bhutnath Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

(24) *Sri Bhakta Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

(25) *Sri Kinkar Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

(26) *Sri Thakurdas Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

(27) *Sri Janardan Karmakar* :
Item Nos. :—7, 8, 22 and 23.

5. A reading of the above list will explain that, in 1964 :

(i) Eleven artisans were restricted to four [*i.e.* about 10 per cent of Sambhu's total] traditional items only (small elephant, small lamp, *Lakshmi* on owl, *Jagannath*) ;

(ii) Seven artisans could produce about 25 per cent of Sambhu's total ;

(iii) Five artisans could produce about one-third of Sambhu's total ;

(iv) Four artisans could produce about 60 per cent of Sambhu's total ;

(v) Complicated items like *Lakshmi-Narayan*, a big elephant, *Pancha Pradip*, *Krishnaleela*, *Rashleela*, *Jagatdhatri* could only be produced by Sri Sambhu Karmakar.

But, gradually, due to the technical guidance of the Regional Design Centre and the flow of orders for bigger and design items, a few more artisans came up to the mark. The articles were previously of religious significance and utility implications only amongst rural folk. Now, the decorative and conspicuous items has gained prominence amongst city-people primarily with attraction for handicrafts, and even, the figures used for religious purposes are also purchased by them as items of house decoration. It was understood that, in nineteen thirties, no less a person than Late Acharyya Nandalal Bose bought in an artisan of Bankura in Kalabhavan in Biswa Varati to produce grain-measuring bowls and mytholocgical figures of *Lakshmi*, *Saraswati*, *Ram* and *Sita* to teach the metal-moulding to the inmates of the Bhavan.

6. The following table will show the classification of products according to size :

Category according to height	Names of products
(i) Within 3 inches (7·62 centimetre)	*Dhoopkathi*, small elephant in two designs, small lamp, small *Jagannath*, bowl, *Ghati*, duck, peacock, cock.
(ii) Within 6 inches (15·24 centimetre)	Rose-bowl, flower vase, elephant, tumbler, *Dhunuchi*, *Rath* on elephant, *Lakshmi*, powder-box, owl, horse, *Ganesh*.
(iii) Within 12 inches (30·48 centimetre)	Flower vase in different designs, peacock, *Pancha Pradip*, *Ravana*, candle-stand, *Jagannath*, *Gajalakshmi*, horse, *Manasaghat*, *Lakshmi-Narayan*, *Jagadhatri*, *Siva*.
(iv) Within 15 inches to 24 inches (38·10 centimetre to 60.96 centimetre).	*Rashleela*, *Krishnaleela*, *Sandhyamoni*, peacock, *Jagannath*, *Ravana*.

7. In consultation with the Regional Design Centre, Calcutta, a list is shown below to show the merit of craftsmen as in August, 1967 in terms of the quality of products, adaptibility and grasp on newer designs and devotion :

Merit-category	Name of artisan
A	Sambhu, Baikuntha.
B	Matar, Haradhan, Budhu, Rasamoy.
C	Sanatan, Muchiram.
D	Bejoy, Rasana, Gurubal, Kalipada, Rakhabari, Lakhai.

8. On January 25, 1966, Sri Sambhu Karmakar and Sri Baikuntha Karmakar received National Award for master craftsmanship along with a plate in recognition and each of them received a cash of Rs. 500·00 (Rupees five hundred only).

9. An idea of the following sample products of Dariapur Malars may be had from the photographs placed separately :

(i) The grain-measuring bowls in a set.
(ii) A decorated elephant.
(iii) *Gajalakshmi*.
(iv) *Jagannath*.
(v) *Ravana*.
(vi) Plate, tumbler, bowl.
(vii) Flower vase.

3

PRODUCTION TECHNIQUE IN DARIAPUR

4924

Metal casting amongst non-ferrous artisans

Stage of production

Working details of different stages

- Preparation of basic clay
- Coating clay
- Preparation of wax
- Preparation of core
- Test report of clay
- Wax-designing round the core
- Building up of the crucible
- Brass-scraps for being filled in
- The complete core-*cum*-crucible
- Casting
- Finish work

Reasons of defective productions
Tools and equipment
Training of artisans
Time needed in productions
Participation of family members in work
A craft independent of any other craft in the locality
Some details about Sorponkha (Orissa) artisans

3

PRODUCTION TECHNIQUE IN DARIAPUR

1.1 Metal casting by "lost wax process" differs from ordinary non-ferrous metal casting as is practised generally by the traditional bell/brass metal artisans of the State. As an illustration, it may be stated in Bankura, there is a cluster of non-ferrous metal artisans other than the artisans of Rampur-Velkadanga area, who manufacture brass, german silver, bell-metal wares by simple casting with the following operations : (i) Making of pattern or model ; (ii) Preparation of mould ; (iii) Melting the metal and pouring into moulds ; (iv) Finishing. The study of the Regional office of the All India Handicrafts Board in Calcutta in 1962 states that : "Clay mould of the outer side of object is prepared and divided into four parts—the upper part called *Kana* and lower one *Khura*. The mould is dried , and another mould on the lines of inside of the object is prepared for putting it inside the outer one. When all the component parts are completely dry, the moulds are adjusted after the inner mould is rubbed thinner with a piece of brick (*Jhawa*). Provision of a pore hole is made and the mould is fitted with a crucible locally made, and known as *Muchi*. The components of metal are placed in the crucible and put in the furnace ((*Bhati*). The furnace is sufficiently commodeous for a number of mould-*cum*-crucible adjustments. These adjustments are kept in such a manner that the crucible remains downward. After about three hours of heating, the adjustments are taken out and inverted so that the crucible comes up and the melted metal goes down into the mould through pores and runners when cold, the earthen material is broken away and the object finished by scraping, filing and buffing with indigenous mop. All the steps involved are completed in each individual establishment and there is no distribution of processes. The process is completely mannual and no machine is involved.

1.2 The scraping is done by fixing the object on the lathehead with the help of lac. The lathe, a wooden structure with a wheel, revolves while a man pulls the belt rolled around its shaft. Scrapers of various sizes and shapes are used for scraping the surface of the object smooth. Engraving is done by hammering the outlines of the design with mallets of different sizes. The polishing is helped by rubbing the object with a felt-bob on which a little of mustard oil has been applied.

1.3 *Thals* and *Katories* require bell-metal alloy of copper and zinc. As sufficient quantities of raw material is not available pure, the artisans are using scraps. The scrap is melted and poured into moulds to make *Ruas i. e.*, balls ; and then balls are turned into sheets by the method known as *Gadan* in which either the balls are rolled into sheets in a rolling plant or hammered flat till it becomes flat sheet of required guage. Out of those sheets the object is shaped by beating and, sometimes by heating (tempering) the parts of metal which required special forging like curving the ends, etc.

1.4 After shaping is complete, the scraping is done with the help of curved chisels known locally as *Koyali*. When the outer as well as inner surface of the object is even it is finished and polished with woollen or cotton mops damped with oil. The designing by hammering lines on a planned drawing is made with a small hammer and mallet."

1.5 The malar artisans of Dariapur on the otherhand, use brass scrap of *Pital Kalsi* (brass utensils) and fresh sheet-brass cuttings, when necessary, in case of raising the proportion of copper. The proper proportion is 60 : 40 between copper and zinc.

2. The stages of the production are :

Predesigning stage—

(i) To process the clay for the core and to prepare the core ;

(ii) To process the clay for the first coating of the model and to apply the coating ;

(iii) To produce wax for making wax model ;

(iv) To smooth the surfaces of the core ;

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Designing and covering up stage—

(v) To reproduce the design with wax threads and tapes on the core ;

(vi) To cover up the mould with first coating ;

(vii) To cover up the mould with final coating ;

Precasting and Preparatory stage—

(viii) To build up the funnel (crucible) around the wax runner ;

(ix) To break metal in suitable pieces for use for casting :

(x) To pack the metal pieces into the funnel ;

(xi) To close the funnel -mouth partially ;

(xii) To arrange the furnace for firing the moulds-*cum*-crucibles ;

Casting stage—

(xiii) To get them fired ; to plaster the leaking points with mud ;

(xiv) To pour in molten metal inside the mould to occupy the vacant space of lost wax ;

Post-casting and finishing stage—

(xv) To break the moulds to bring out the cast metal model ;

(xvi) To remove the clay of core from inside the model when needed.

(xvii) To cleanse the final product ; to repair and give final finish ;

3. The working details of the different stages are :*

(i) *Thensa* (Preparation of clay for the Core) The Core is *Thensa* in the artisans' language. For making the Core, the craftsman procures plastic clay from the fields around the village and the ponds. He collects paddy-husk pounded into finer bits. Clay (*Chara*) is mixed with water and paddy-husk (kept in *Thili*) and kneaded to the consistency of modelling clay. The clay and paddy-husk are in the proportion of about 2 : 1. This basic clay is *Tunsmati*.

(ii) *Clay for coating the Core and Wax—Model.* *Jharalmati*, as is known to the artisan, is an essential prerequisite for the work. The artisan draws it from the *Kutcha* road-sides of the village, which is loose and have fine sand particles. This is subject to levigation through a piece of cloth.

(iii) When the plastic clay (*Tuns* or *Bhunsamati*) and strained clay (*Jharalmati*) are ready, wax is prepared from resin. Basic meterial is *Dhuna* (incense for being burnt in houses, the source of which is *Sal* dammar) purchased by the artisans from the local market of Guskara. Lump *Dhuna* is first broken into small pieces by a ball-pane hammer and put on an open earthen vessel in finer particles by a scrapper. The vessel is heated on an oven with brick/stone supports and firewood. As soon as *Dhuna* melts, mustard oil is added and allowed to form a liquid black compound. *Dhuna* and mustard oil are required in 5 : 2, *i.e.*, for one kilogramme of *Dhuna*, 400 grammes of mustard oil is required. The liquid is then poured into a vessel of cold water (*Ban*) through a cloth strainer. It turns solid and, when still mild hot, is converted by hand into thick stocks. This is used as wax.

(iv) The artisan then makes the Core (*Thensa*) for the object. Each core is a different one and a piece of creative art. The form of the object, subject to its specifications for height, is manifested gradually in the work with the fingers. Generally, for the hands and legs of a small object, *Bhunsamati* is used not needing it to be removed after casting ; and, for the body of a bigger one, the same is used needing it to be so. The *Thensa* is intended to represent the inner support of the design of the figure in green stage and is the hollow space inside the cast object. For measurements, no scale is used. The work of fingers is always accurate without any aid. For the grain bowls (*Pai*) the artisan has a stick with a few line-marks. A green palm leaf is used and cut to proper length according to the stick-marks, which has a corresponding relation with the weight of grains the bowl would contain.

Capacity of *Pai*	Circumference
1 *Seer Pai* (20 *Gondi*)	15½ inches
3½ *Poa Pai* (18 *Gondi*)	15 inches
3 *Poa Pai*	14 inches
½ *Seer Pai*	12½ inches

[*Poa* = 1/4th of a *Seer*]

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*The details of this para. including terms were obtained from the artisans themselves by the author.

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This sense of size, height and the capacity of the object in case of containers are instinctive with the artisan. His eyes and the fingers work at the instance of his own sense of measurement, which, surprisingly, is closely similar to that of any other artisan subject to the common items. For the perfection and proper balance of the clay modelling work, the artisan keeps in view the ultimate metallic figure which is retained when there is no longer any core. For a smaller object, it is a single core for a larger one, there are parts which are attached to one another after being dried (or, for still bigger and complicated items, after casting, by soldering). The sun-dried core is slightly wetted and the artisan then smoothens (*Chorhati*) its surface with fire-clay (*Jharalmati*) and gives proper shapes by pinching and pressing in critical points.

(v) The artisan is very careful about the selection for the right type of clay for making plastic clay (*Tunsmati*) and strained clay (*Jharalmati*). A sample of common clay of Dariapur village was put to physical test in the College of Ceramic Technology, Calcutta, West Bengal in July, 1964. The result is given below :

(*a*) Water of plasticity	16·3 per cent
(*b*) Workability	Fair (sticky)
(*c*) Shrinkage at 110°C	7 per cent
(*d*) Firing behaviour at 1000°C.	
(i) Fired shrinkage	1 per cent expn.
(ii) Total shrinkage	6 per cent
(iii) Porosity	25·5 per cent
(iv) Absorption	12·5 per cent
(v) Colour	brick-red
(vi) Bloating	Nil
(vii) Scumming	Nil
(*e*) Firing behaviour at 1050°C.	
(i) Fired shrinkage	**1 per cent**
(ii) Total shrinkage	**8 per cent**
(iii) Porosity	24·7 per cent
(iv) Absorption	12·2 per cent
(v) Colour	brick-red
(vi) Bloating	Nil
(vii) Scumming	**Nil**

(*f*) Thermal stock resistance
Did not crack even after five cycles of heating and cooling

(vi) *Wax-design around the Core :*

Dhuna-wax sticks are then heated in required quantities on mild fire of wood / charcoal which burns when the artisan is busy in design work. The quantity of wax necessary for any object is determined by its size and the quantity of brass-metal needed for the size. Afterall, it is the space to be released by the wax replica that is filled in by the molten metal. The proportion of brass metal to *Dhuma* is generally 12 : 1 (by weight). Heating and lengthening of elastic wax sticks (*Loi*) to desired thickness and diameter for tapes and wires are done concurrently. The artisan imagines the thickness of the metal product in different proportions and draws the thickness of wax accordingly. The threads are joined together to make strips of one-fourth to half width. Then, it is a process of careful wrapping of the core with the strips followed up by decorative work with finer threads, (*Sut*) here and there, as necessary requiring thread pieces of different thickness and lengths to be deve-tailed or wrapped in the continuing process. He uses *Ketni* occasionally to press, give cut marks or to cut off the thread. The final form is always in his view—the metallic form that is to correspond the object after the wax designs of given thickness and conti nuity wither away. It is that specific vision that works in the artisan's eyes and fingers in the design work which reflects the accurate sense of spacing, balance and art of the artisan while reproducing a figure. The skin of wax coating gets gradually a living character when the parts of the figures are added and the ornaments according to different motifs are set with the manipulation of wax threads. The artisan then provides for an opening in the form of wax thread (*Sunga*) which is attached in the highest point of the model. The obvious intention is to provide for an inlet for the molten metal to flow in the vacuum of lost wax most conveniently. The artisan then covers (*Dheurte*) the wax-model first with *Jharalmati*, and then with *Tunsmati* and sand. Thus the wax-work remains round the hardcore and inside the outer clay mould. The finer clay cover catches up the design of the model in its exact shape, size and motif. The thickness of the surface clay is generally half-inch, sufficient to stand firing and to retain molten metal without damage. The wax runner remains uncovered by the outer mould. The *Sunga* is covered up first by a clay-support *Nara.*

(vii) The artisan then builds up the crucible (*Gheria*) to act as the container of the scrap brass-metal pieces to retain them until the molten metal flows inside the vacuum. It is made of *Tunsmati* and its hollow space is determined on a guess of the quantity of metals to be put in. It is fixed on the already-made mould around the wax-runner with clay-paste being then added on the sides of the two items (mould and crucible) to turn them into one mould. The whole thing (*Gheria-Nara*) is dried in the open.

(viii) *The artisans then brings the brass-scraps* (*Pitar*)

The scraps are purchased from the local market and are heated in fire of dung-cake and coal for being broken in pieces with strokes of a hammer (*Hentri*). For large objects, fresh brass-sheets are also mixed. The quantity needed for casting is determined on the basis of the size of the metal object along with its detailed and minute physiological and decorative parts. These small bits are put inside the crucible (*Gheria*). The artisan then covers up (*Muhatte*) its mouth with mud and sand leaving a small opening with a piece of torn cloth on it at a point (*Munha*) which is the top of the mould. It is then called. *Muthal.*

The following table will show the relationship between the height of an (Dariapur) usual product and its weight in final form as well as the quantity of metal initially required :

Category according to height	Raw metal required before casting	Weight of item in final form
(i) Within 3 inches	250 gramme	100-200 gramme
(ii) Within 6 ,,	500 gramme	Within 400 gramme
(iii) Within 12 ,,	1½-2½ kilogramme	1-2 kilogramme
(iv) Within 15-24 ,,	2½-5 kilogramme	2-4 kilogramme

(ix) The complete article is now called *Muthal Thensa.* It is dried in sun.

For casting of bigger objects with intricate designs, a trained artisan now provides for an air vent near the runner to ensure smooth flow of air during firing and to help even setting of molten metal. It is also mentioned here that, for the items like *Panch-Pradip* on elephant, with *Chali* overhead, or, *Lakshmi-Narayan* on elephat, or, *Kartik* on four wheels, separate castings are made, two or three in number, as necessary, which are joined together by soldering later on.

A crucible has generally a capacity to contain metal weight upto one kilogramme to one and half.

(x) *The material is now ready for casting*

The artisan has to make arrangements for firing the moulds. The Dariapur artisan, even after the construction of a small workshed and pit furnace provided for by the Regional Design Centre in the new housing colony, mostly uses the yard in front of his house for a furnace (*Pachra*). Facing the direction of the wind, the frontage of the *Pachra* is set on the opening ground with a few bricks (*Dhandhari*) and mud clusters (*Chara*) forming a semi-circular wall of about 10″ to 15″ height. Inside are kept fire-wood, steam coal and cowdung cakes (*Ghainta*). The draft is intended to be natural, eventhough, the artisan fans the oven with *Kula* (a flat bamboo-basket for winnownig purposes). The ready furnace is *Bhati.* The moulds are then arranged on fuel, the *Muthal* (crucible with metal) remaining below the position of the *Thensa* (wax-core). These are covered with fuel on all sides. Generally, a furnace accommodates the articles of one type. The capacity of a furnace is to have at a time 1-2 of big size or 3-4 of medium size or 6-10 of small size. At a lower end of fuel, fire starts with burning of kerosene oil and, in two hours' time, the temperature attains about 1100°C. Before that point of heat, the wax melts and is converted into gas and is released through the crucible-opening. The metal pieces melt around peak heat point. The full melting is ensured by the articles by visual inspection of the colour of flame (greenish-yellowish) and poking

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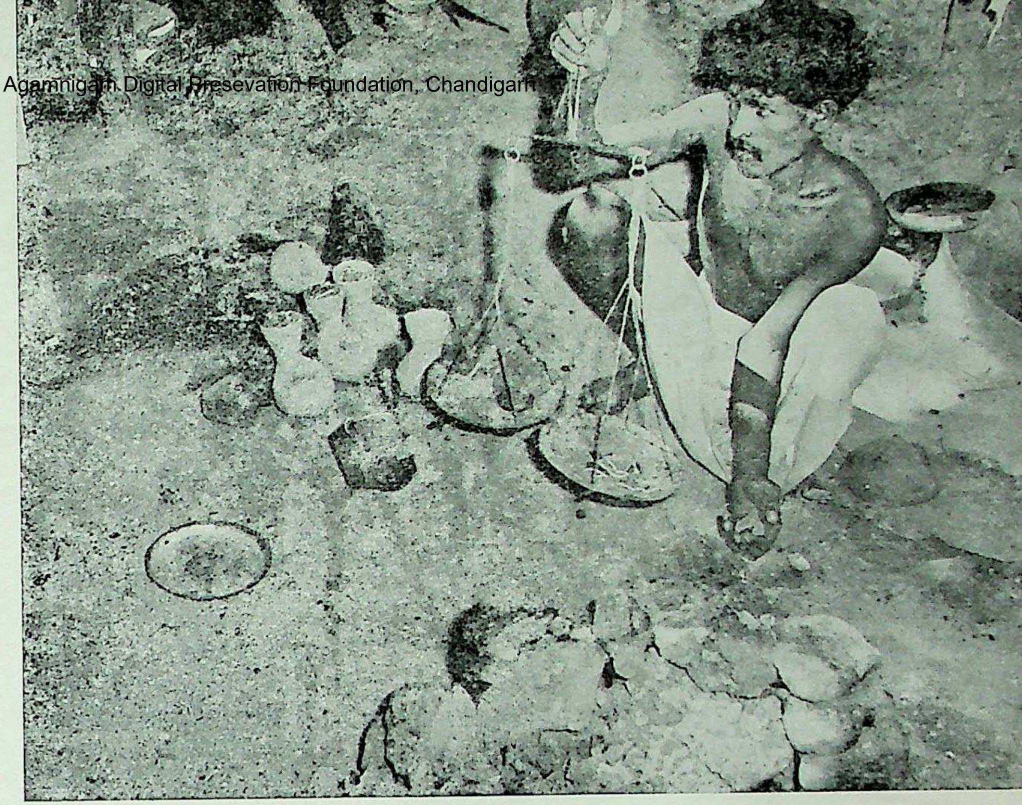
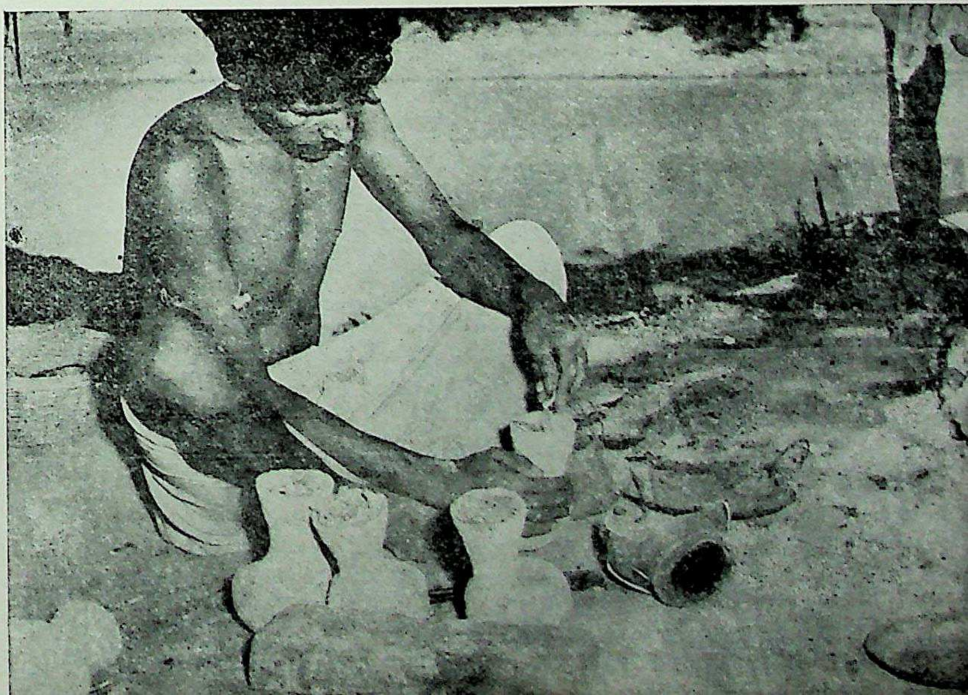


Pitars being weighed in a scale before they are placed in crucibles.



Pitars of specific weight being put into the crucibles attached to the moulds.

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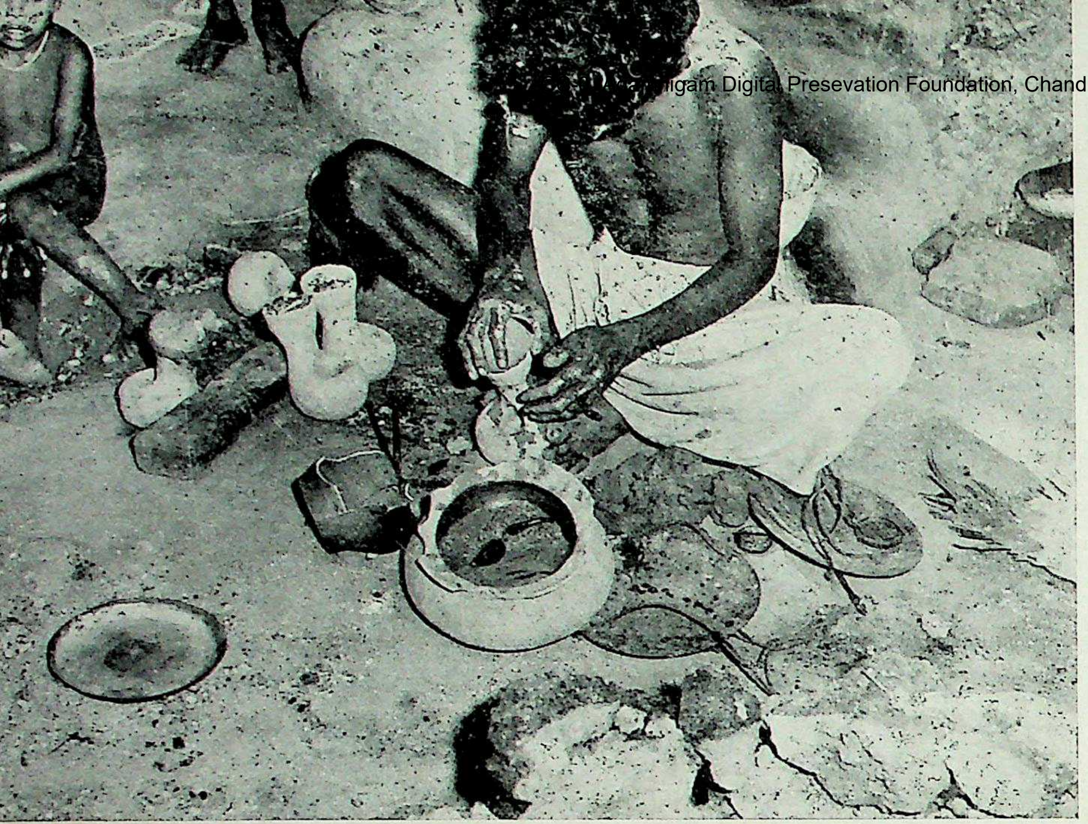
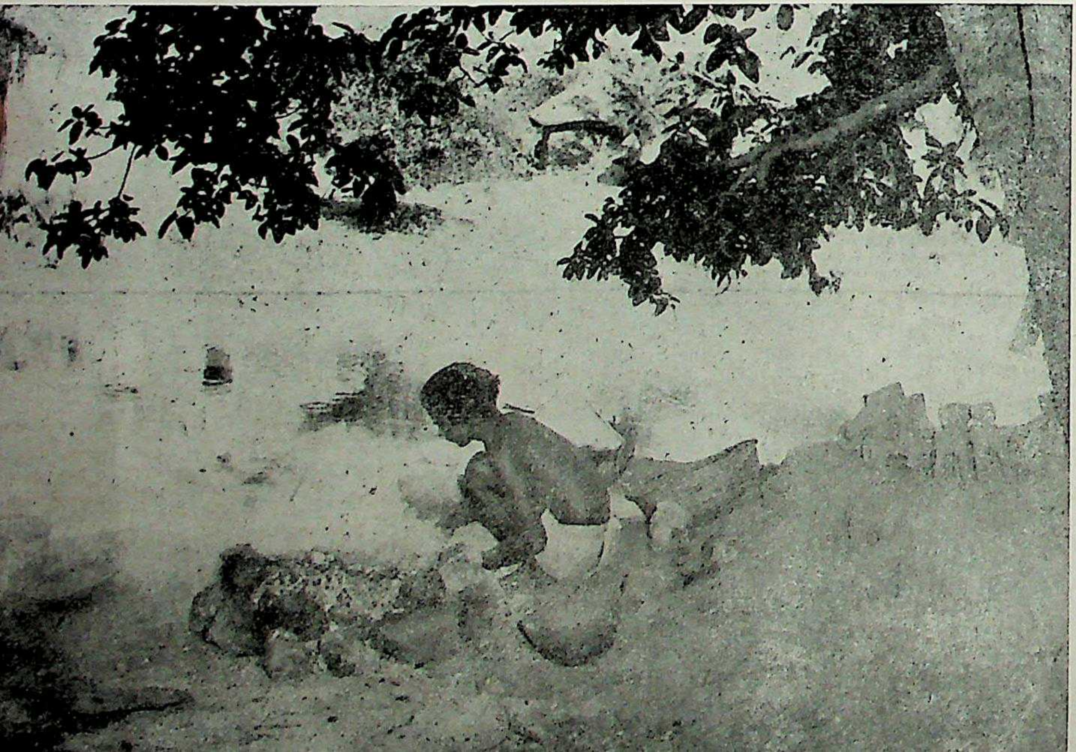
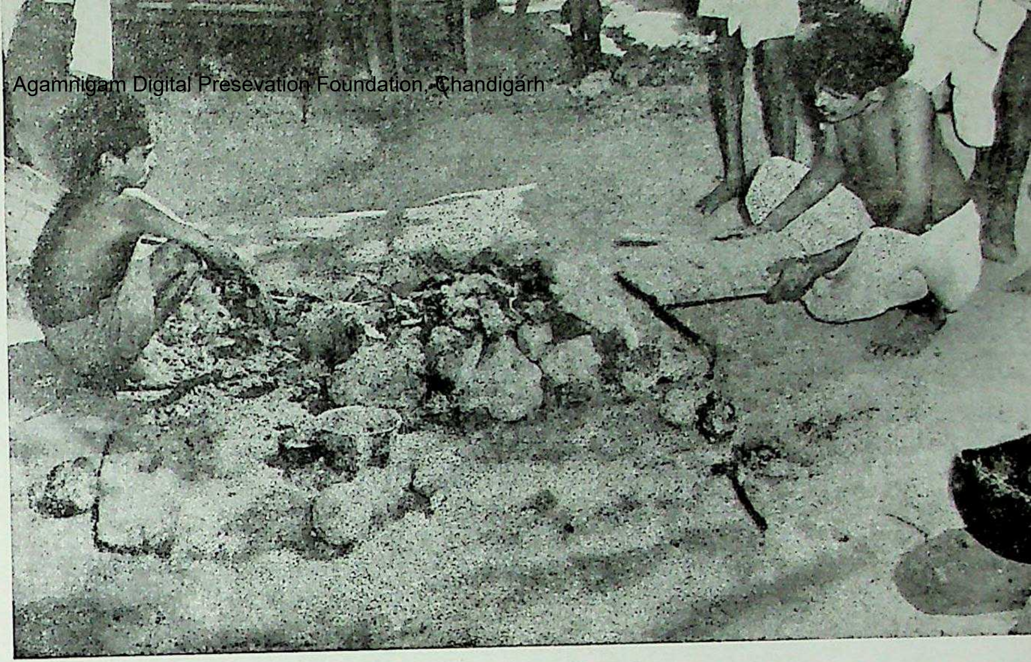


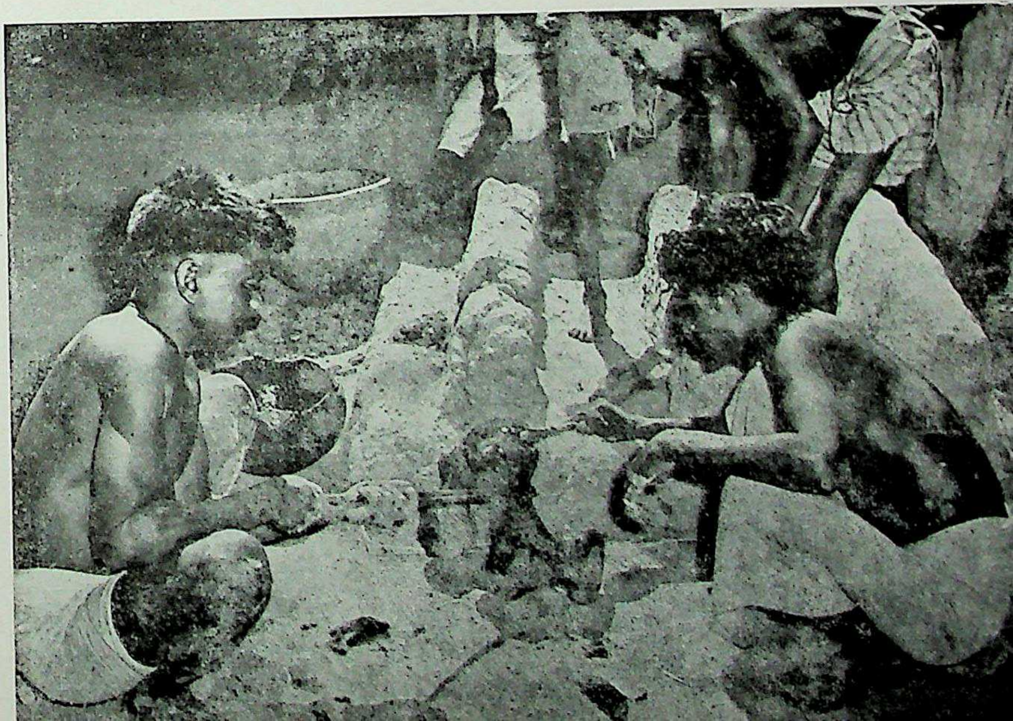
Muhatte (sealing) of the opening of the crucible with a mixture of clay and sand leaving a small opening of the diameter of one inch covered with a piece of linen and the whole article, known as *Munthla Thensa,* will be ready in a dried state for being fired.



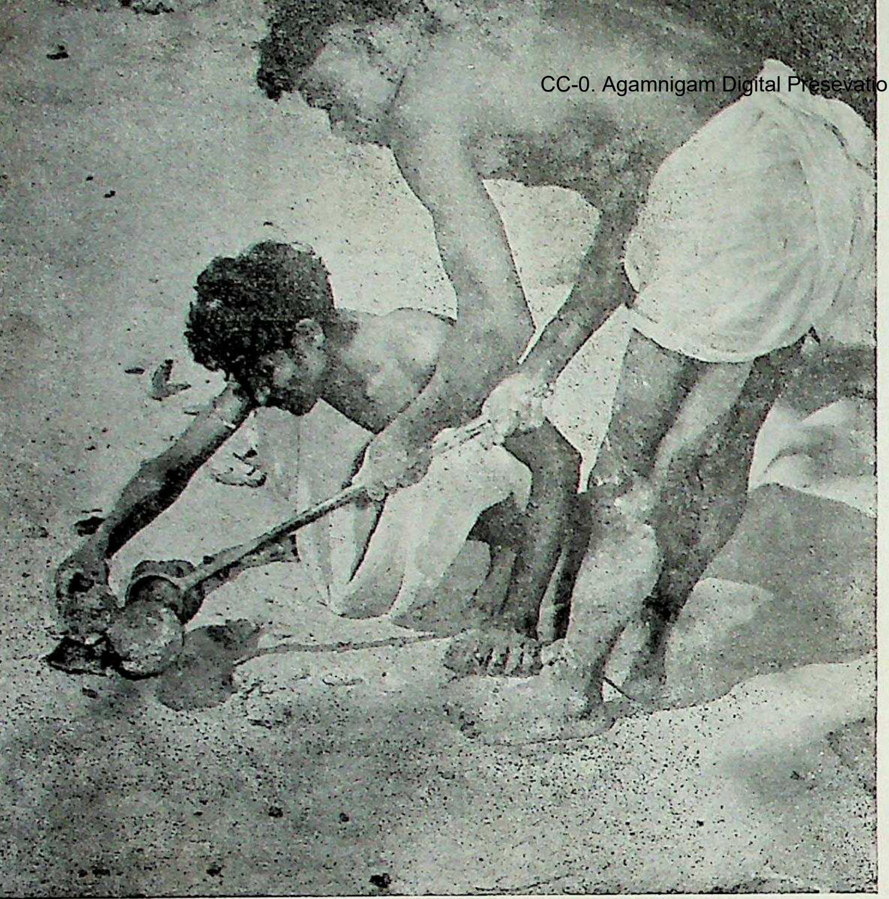
Bhati (Furnance) being arranged on the side of a tank for baking the moulds already prepared.



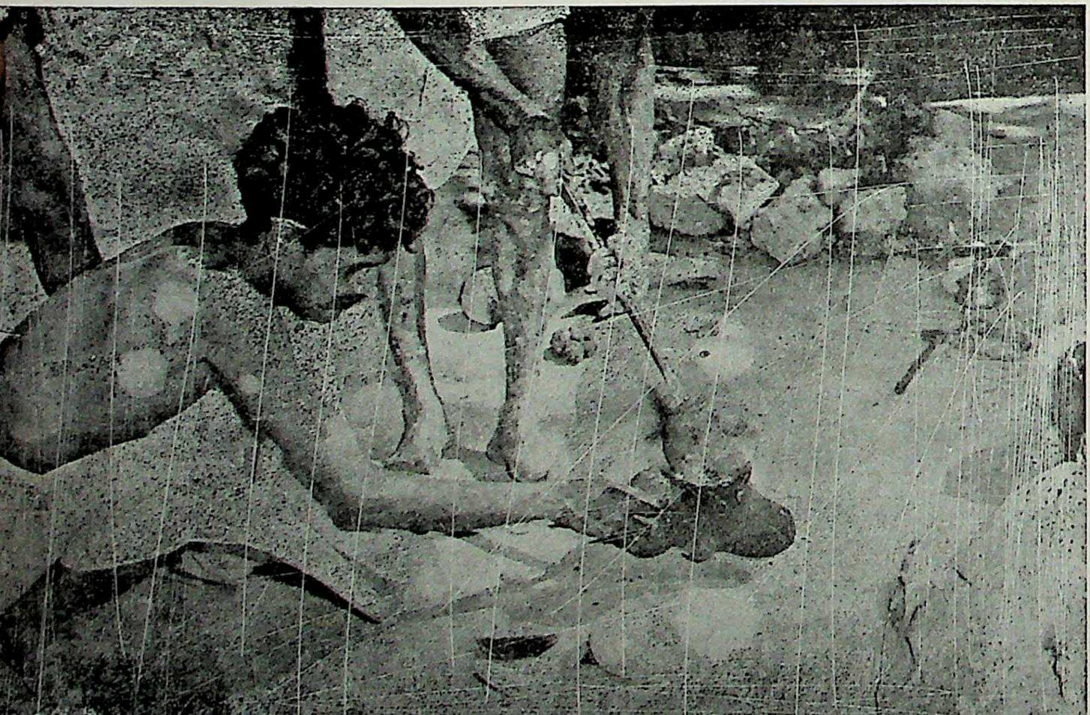
Moulds of small bowls placed in the *Bhati*, taken fire with steam coal and cakes of cowdung and being fanned with a *Kula* (winnowing fan).



After sometime a mould being taken out with a pair of tongs for inspection of the critical melting point of *Pitar* in the crucible with the help of a stick (for stirring).

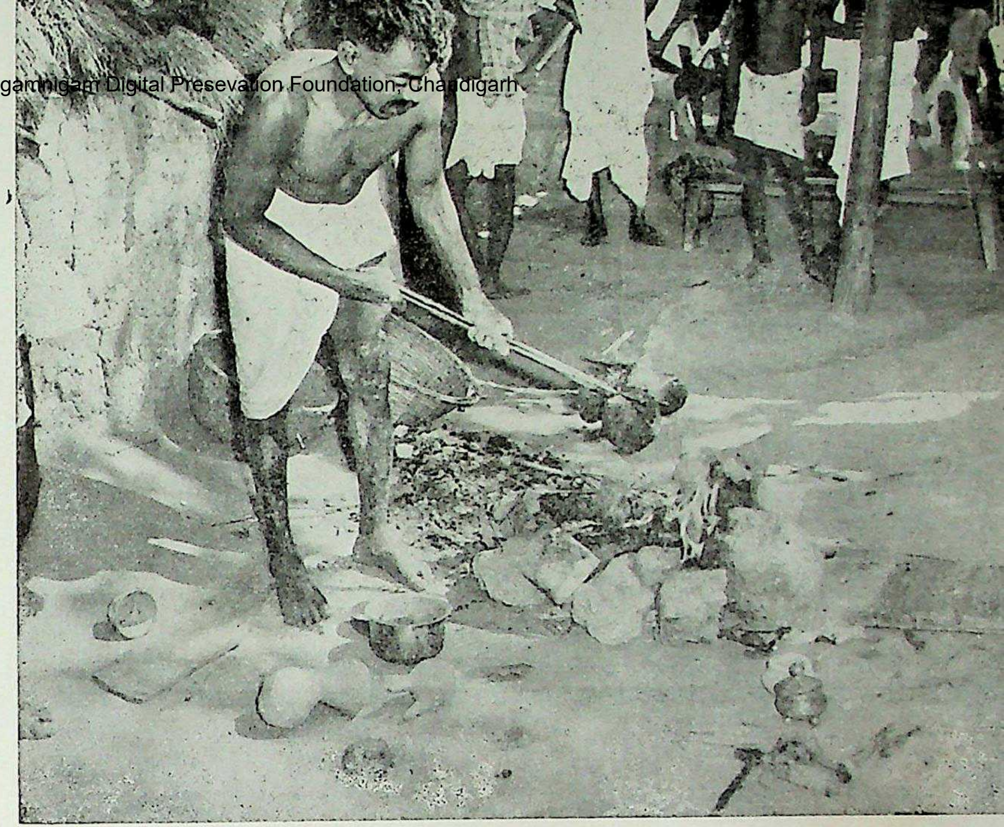


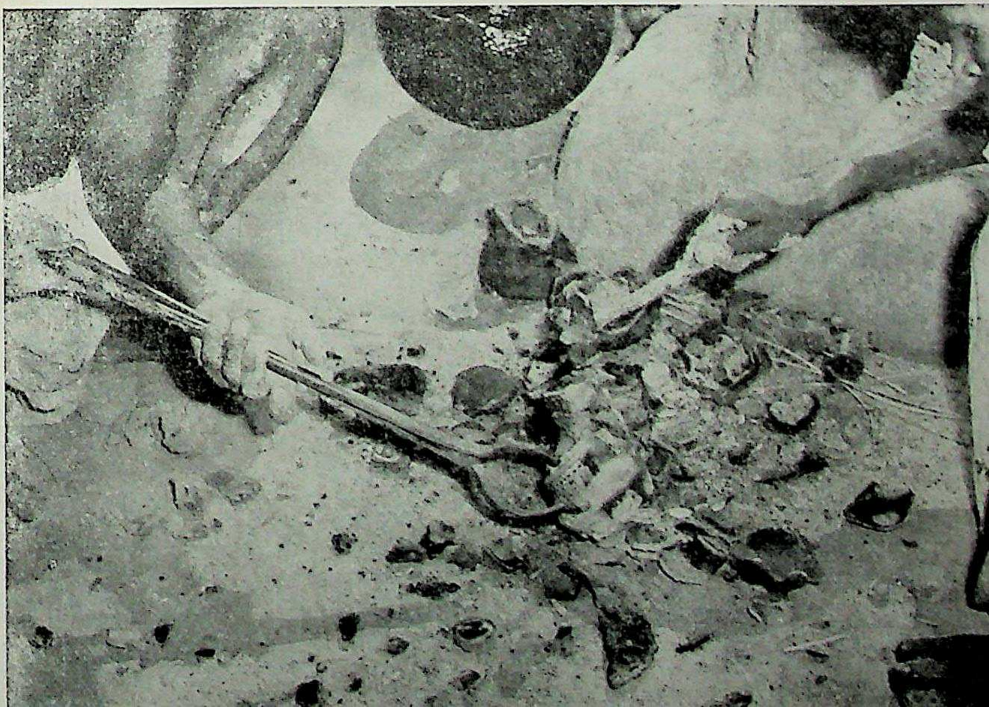
The complete mould being finally taken out from the furnace and the leakages on the outer surface being sealed up with plaster of mud prior to pouring the molten metal from the crucible to the hollow mould of the bowl.



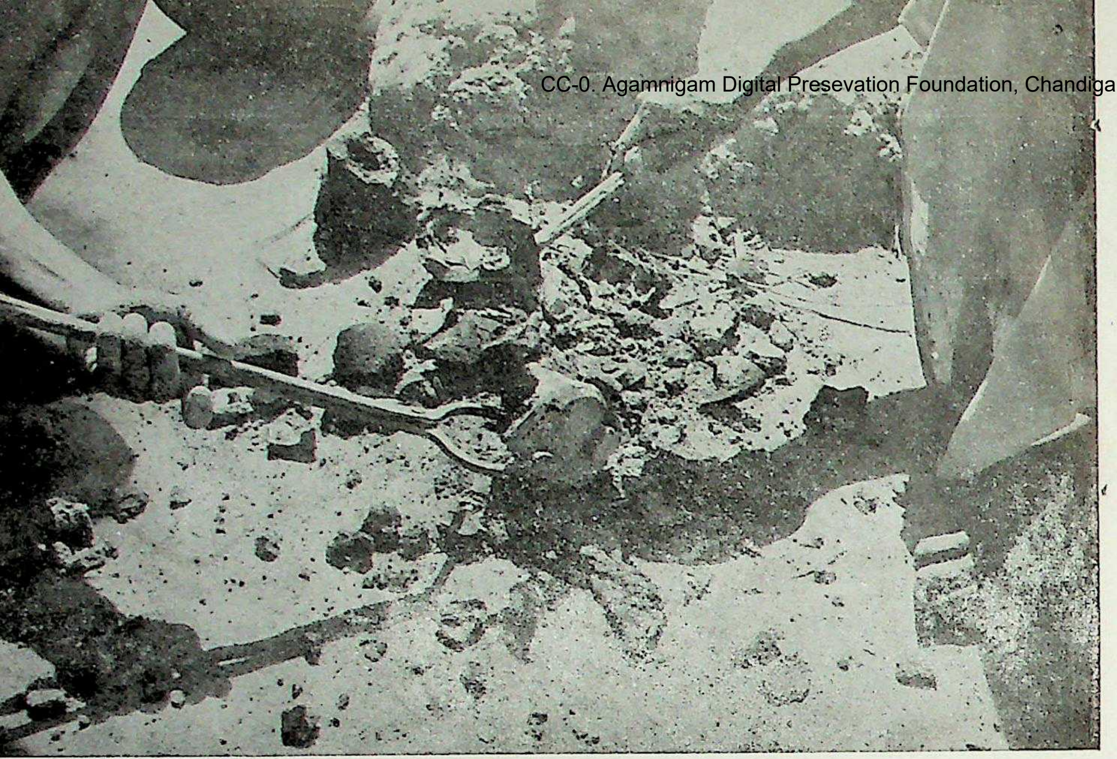
Mud being plastered on another mould prior to casting.

After the metal is molten to an optimum point as ensured from the greenish flame, and the leakages on the surface of the crucible throughly plastered to prevent wastage of the metal, the mould, taken out of the furnace, being turned slowly upside down to turn the crucible gradually upwards to allow the molten metal to flow into occupy the place of the lost-wax space.

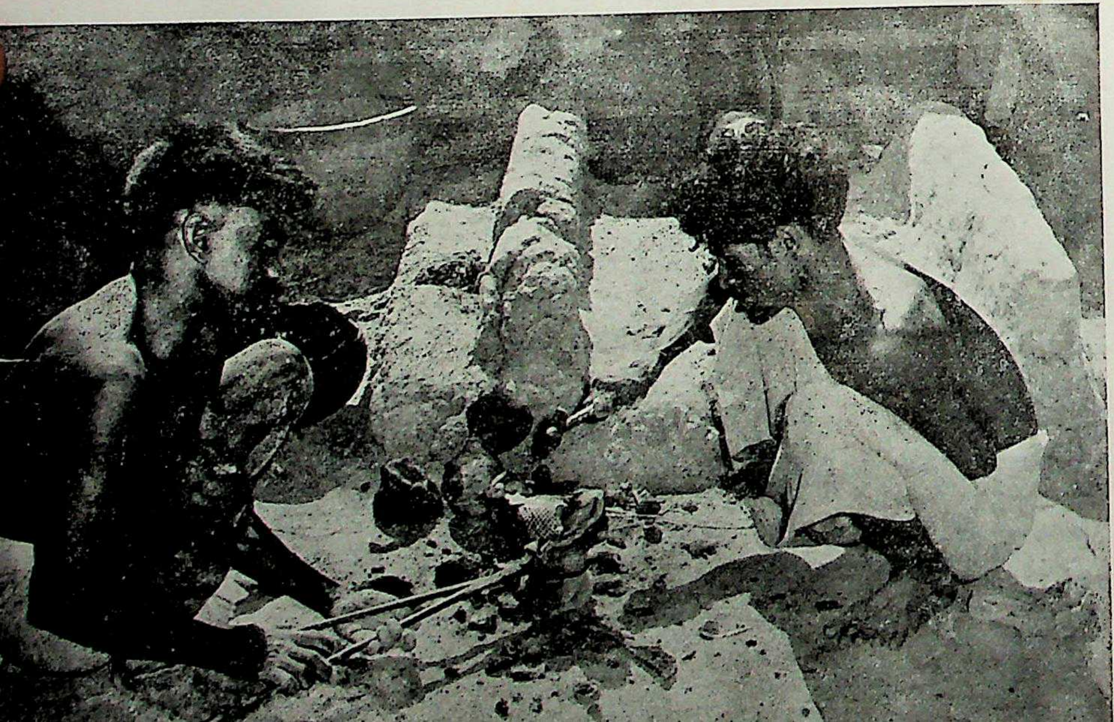




The metal cast being uncovered by breaking up the fired plaster of mud after it has been cooled by water sprinkled on it.

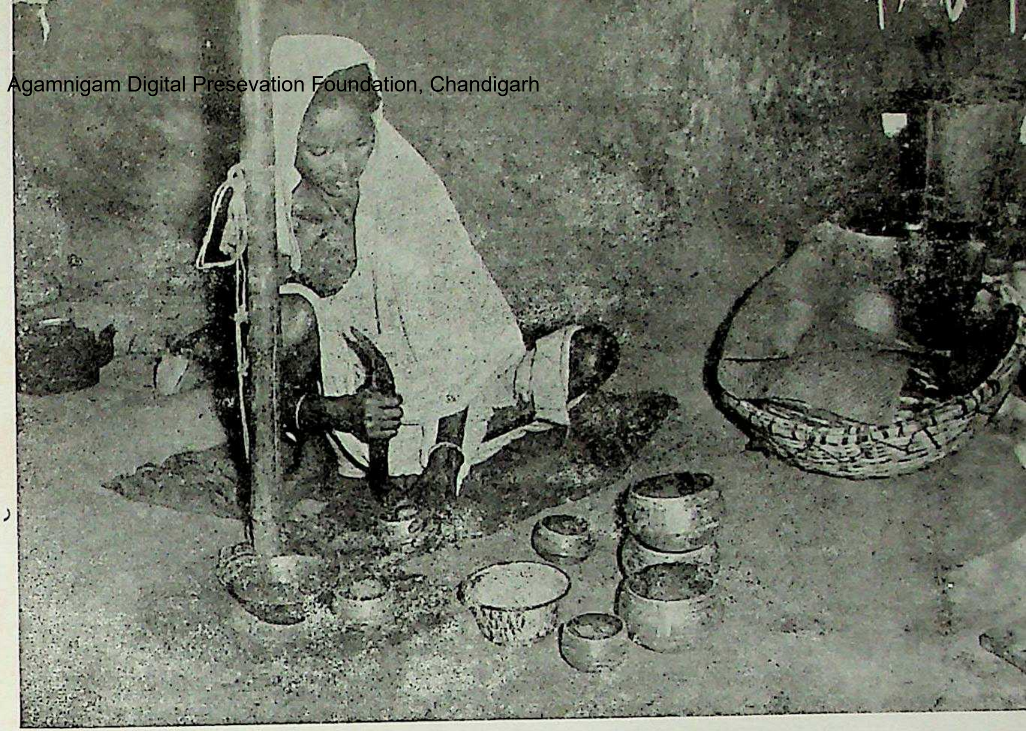


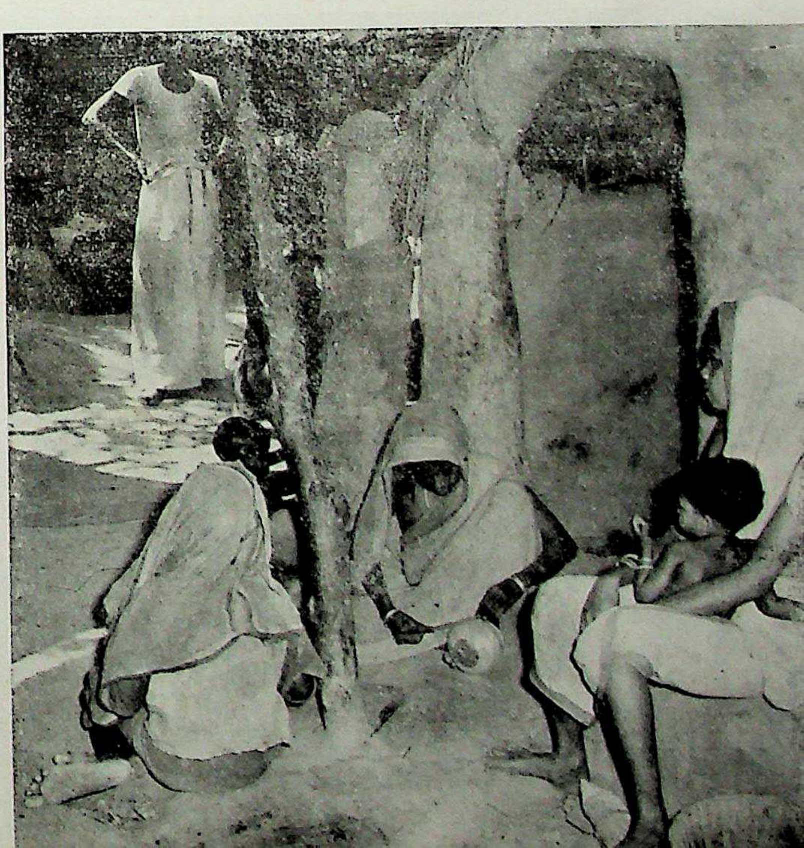
Another metal cast being uncovered.



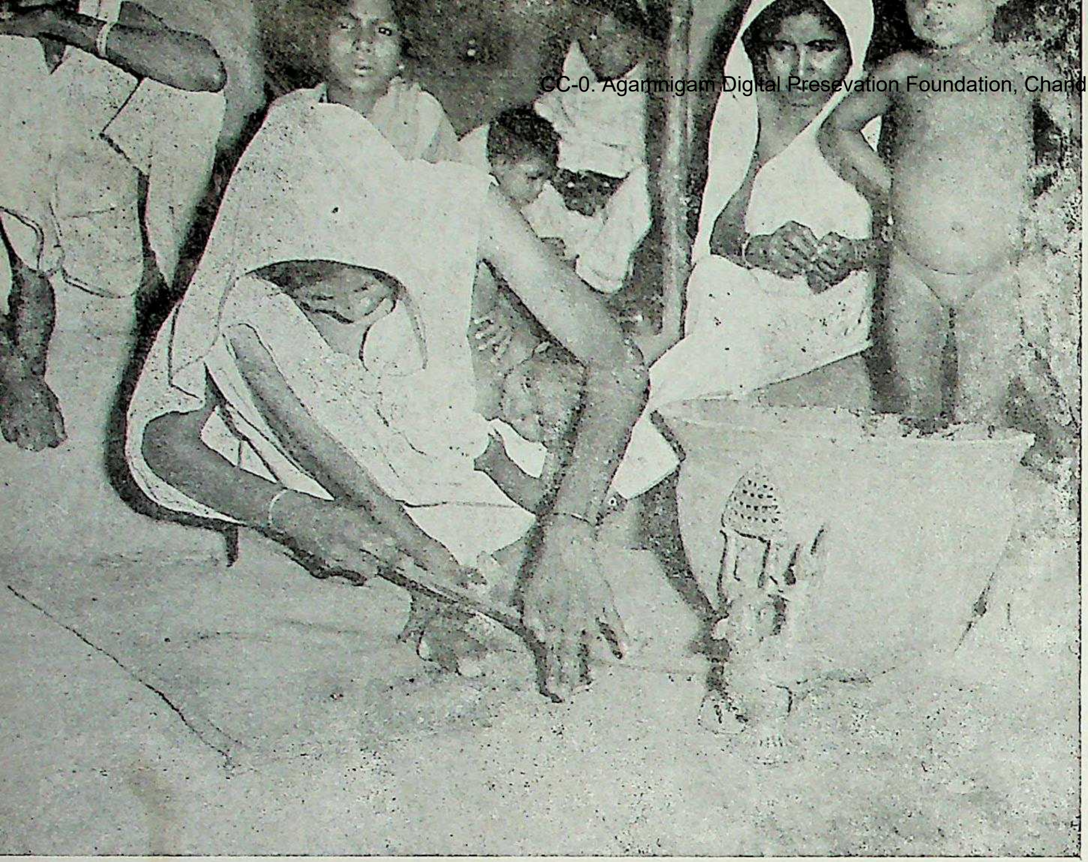
One more metal cast being uncovered.

A female artisan cleaning a metal cast of a measuring bowl to remove the burnt core within the cast with the sharpended edge of a *Katari*.

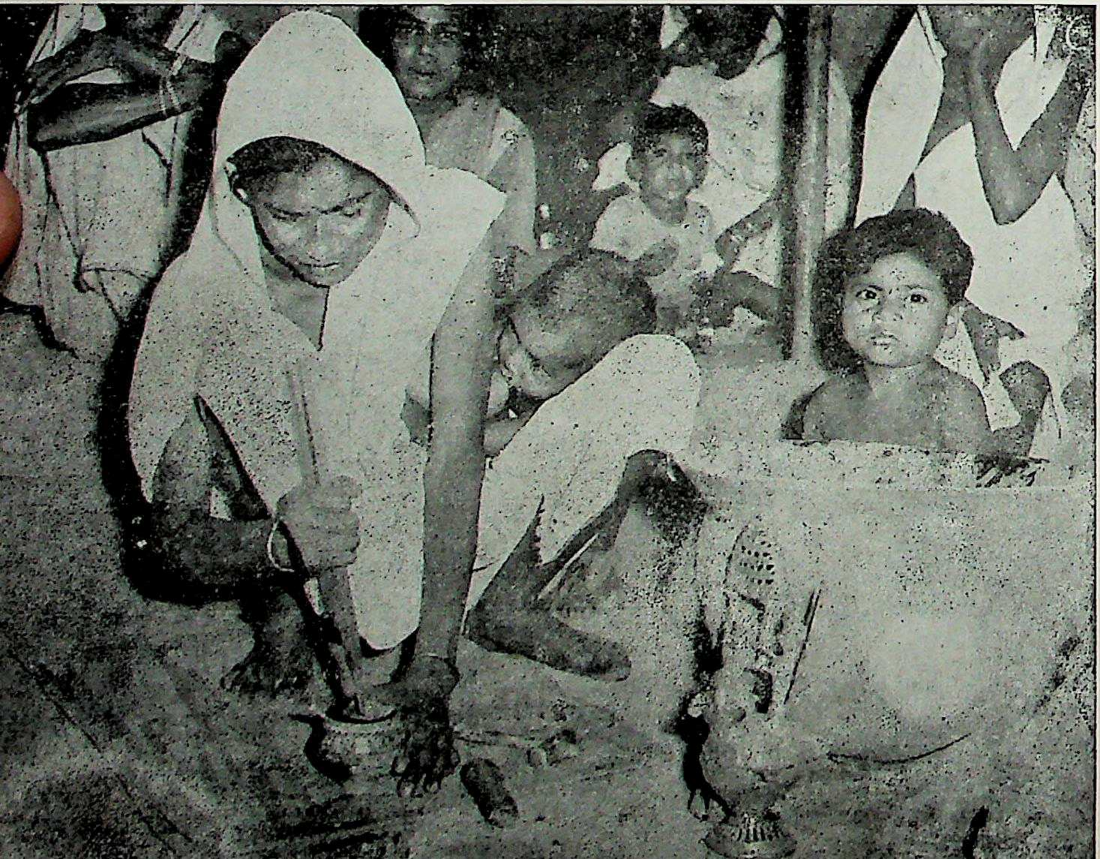




A bowl being finished finally with the help of a file.

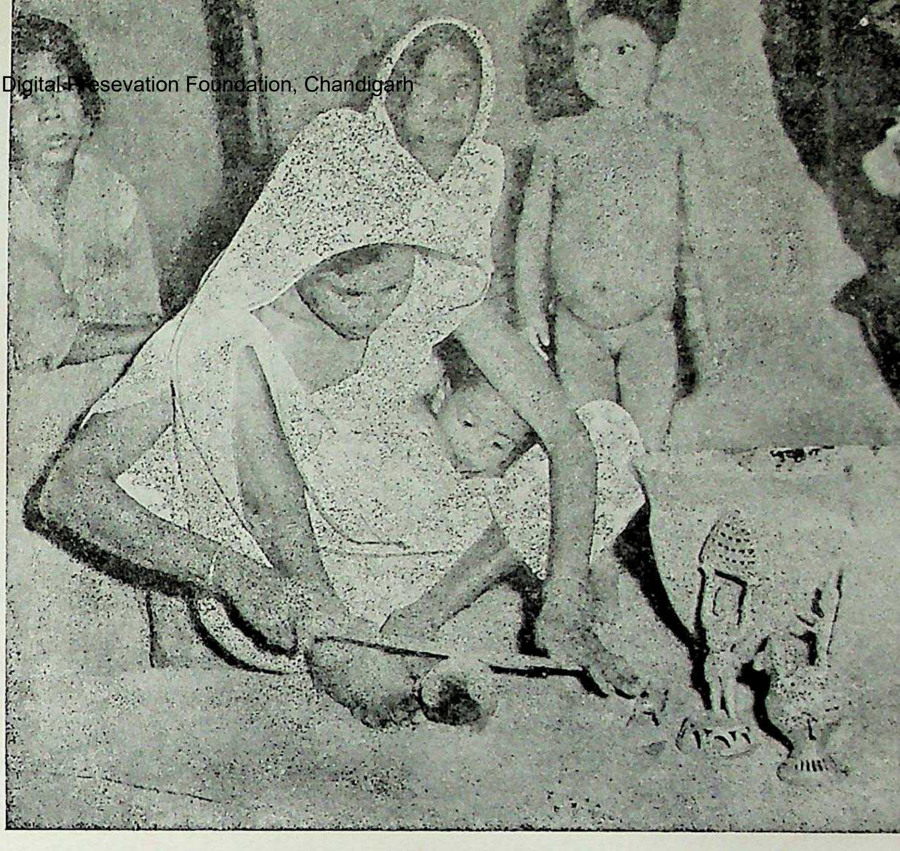


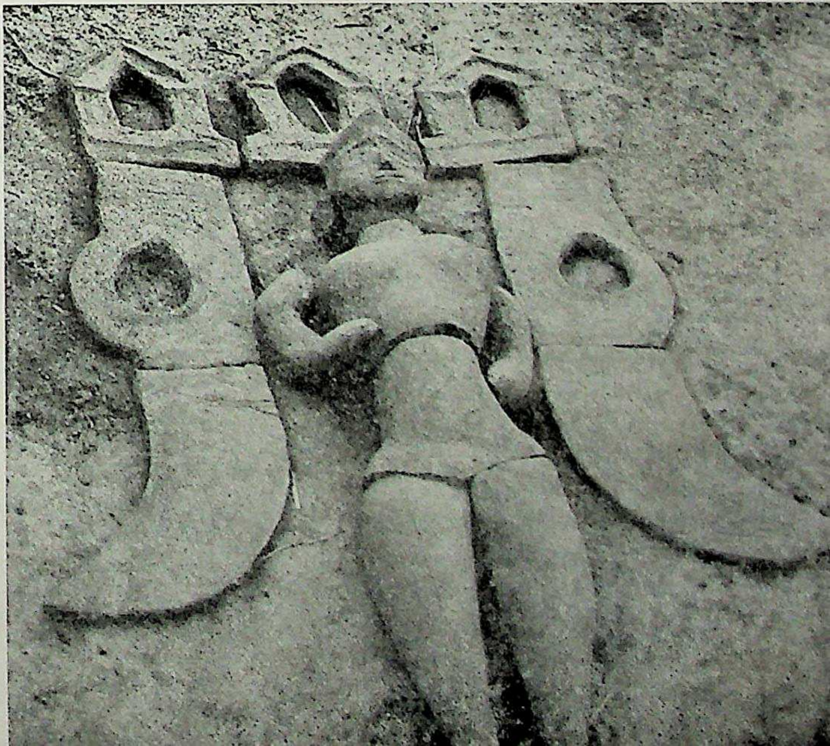
A *Lakshmi-pencha* being finished with the help of a file.



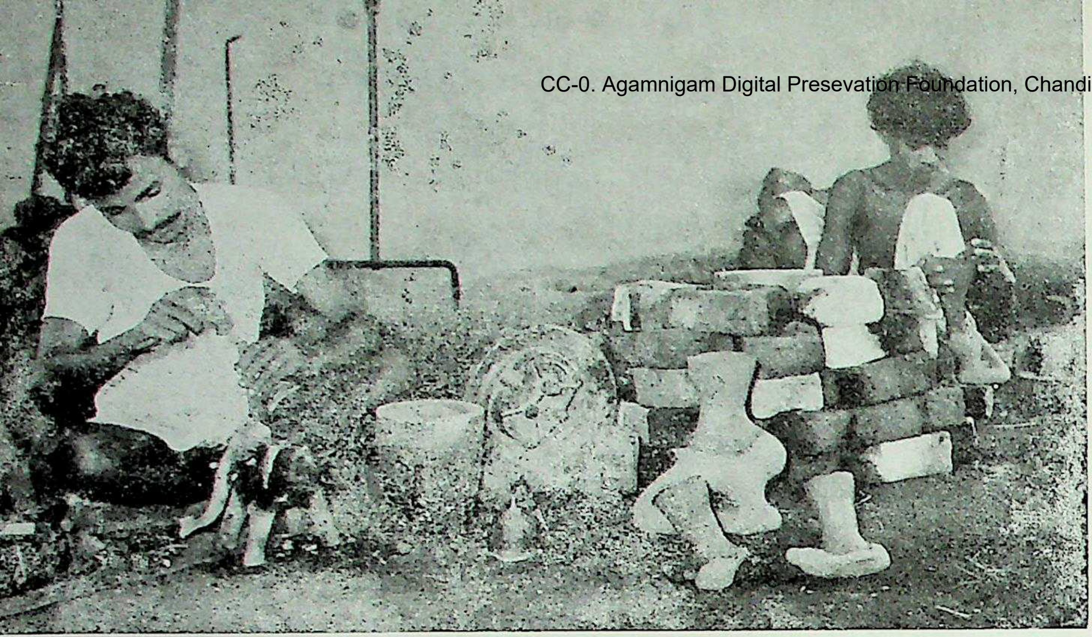
After finishing *Lakshmi-pencha*, the female artisan is cleansing the mud from inside a bowl.

A cleansed bowl being finished with the help of a file.

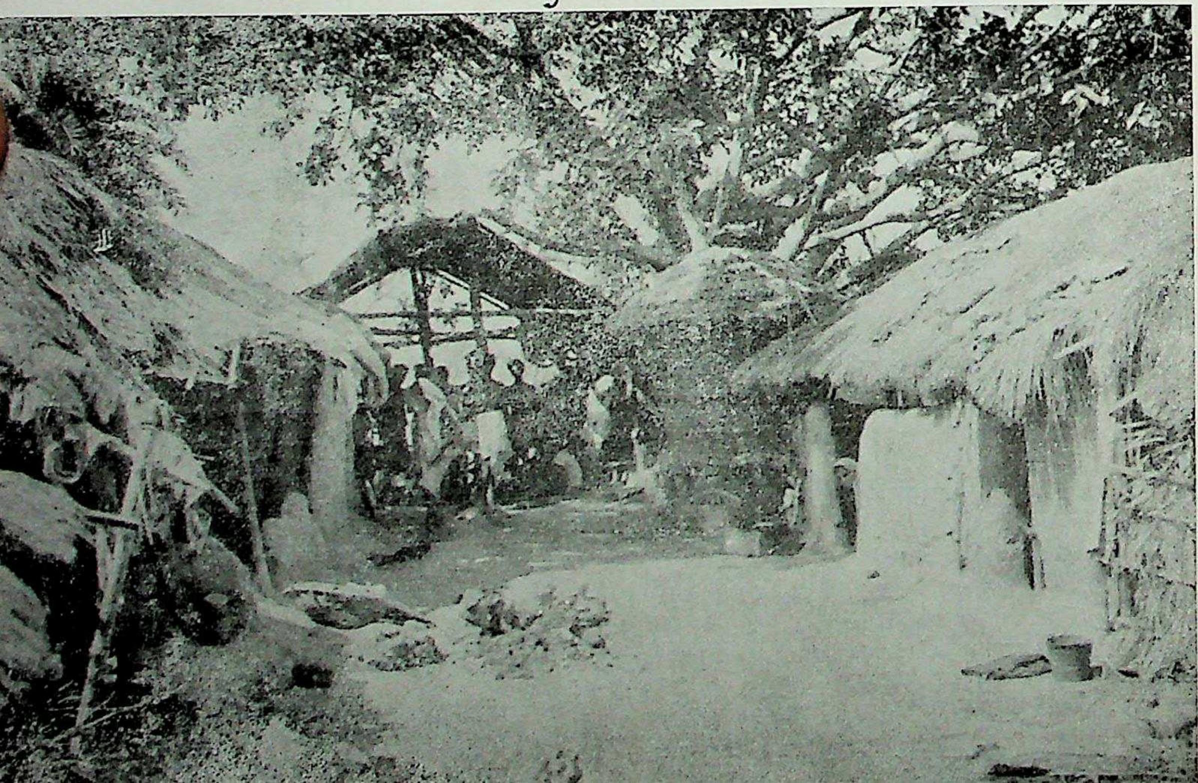




Unattached parts of *Mahamaya* [produced by a skilled artisan.



Gaja-Lakshmi, an article of complex design with several parts joined together, being finished by a very skilled artisan. A *Muchi* (large crucible) seen beside him is used for articles of larger sizes.



The old work-shed under a tree in the Ghatakpur site in the heart of the old colony sheltered the workshop for three years before migration to the new colony.

a stick inside to stir the material properly. It takes place when *Tao*, *i.e.*, the internal heat is sufficient and has been adequately available to the articles. He then brings out the mould with a pair of *Sensi* (tong) and, with the help of an assisting hand, gets the leaking portions of *Thensa* quickly repaired by mud-plasters to avoid any wastage by oozing out of molten metal. Immediately, thereafter, the relative positions of *Muthal* and *Thensa* are recovered, enabling the molten metal of *Muthal* to flow from the above inside the vacant space released by wax on the *Thensa*.

By use of tongs, the fired material is taken out of *Bhati*.

(xi) *The object is then cooled* (*Mijhao*) *by sprinkling of water*.

The artisan uses either a chisel or an iron rod to break (*Farka*) the clay forming outer mould and to remove (*Kanr*) the inner core. As there is *Tunsmati* by and large, the composition of clay loosens after firing and is easily taken out. Still the artisan has to be very cautious in giving stroke and in scrubbing, should the cast metal get damaged. It is the cast metal form with which he is now interested and he watches keenly to ascertain whether the size and the decorations in all the parts of the object are in proper order, balance and expression, as these were in wax model. The different portions of the body are cleansed with a hard wire brush with the intention to remove the small clay particles deposited here and there and not to distub the surface roughness as such, which is regarded as an integral aspect of the Malar (Dokra) art. The minor damages on the cast metal body are repaired by soft soldering and the excess deposits of metal inside the form are chiselled out. In any case, there is no general filing of the surface.

Previously, in general, for smaller pieces, the artisan did not remove the fired clay from inside the cast, object. These pieces were elephant, *Lakshmisaj*, small peacock, *Dhupkathi*, etc. But, after training in Regional Design Centre, the artisan tries to remove such clay from all medium and big-size objects excepting the very small ones and neck of peacocks.

4.1 Despite craftsmanship there are occasional occurrence of defective productions. The artisan suffers as his products are rejected by customers. These defects occur when the appropriate shape and delicate decorations are not manifest according to approved designs and the final products appear to have distortions in as much as the finer elements of the form are overlooked and simplified. The damages are often due to the use of bad quality of brass metal resulting in relative hardness of cast form. The material becomes more brittle at any point during chiselling operations. These damages are due to the absence of the required malleability of the raw metal. The artisans purchase brass scraps, the quality of which, has been rapidly deteriorating for the overall shortage of virgin non-ferrous items of copper and zinc and rising prices of used utensils. There is more of zinc than copper, thus disturbing the 60 : 40 (copper : zinc) ratio. In order to bring about the desired softness and strength of the cast form, the Regional Design Centre recommends the mixture of brass sheet cuttings with brass scrap. This does not mean, however, that good metal pieces are not used. Samples of pieces used by Sambhu Karmakar, the master craftsman, were tested in the Laboratory of C & SSI Directorate. It shows :

	Brass sheet per cent	Brass casting per cent
Copper	48·22	57·51
Zinc	51·09	37·41
Tin	Negligible	4·24
Lead	Traces	
Others	Nil	Negligible

Defects also occur when the resin-fixing has no minimum thickness resulting in holes on cast body or when there is air-blocking inside or when the metal is poured in before nature melting. On all these points, an artisan has to be careful and may use air-vents to prevent distortions due to air-spots. The sponzy surface due to dirt in wax and scum in metal can be eliminated by striring wax before use and removing scum.

4.2 Recently, Regional Design Centre has advised the artisans not to sprinkle cool water on hot fired bodies immediately after casting, which resulted in frequent brittleness of cast form. One hour's rest of fired body has been advised before it is broken to ensure quality castings.

Even Master-Craftsmen like Baikuntha and Matar remarked that the artisans, by tradition, become impatient to see the cast form immediately when molten metal flows inside and sprinkle water even at the risk of defects in structure of casting ; this improvement is yet to be adopted.

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5. The tools and equipment of the artisan are only incidental to his productions. According to 1964 estimate, these are :

(i) Earthen vessels (*Chutortelc* and *Ban*) for preparing liquid resin wax and cooling it.

(ii) *Ketni*—a small iron flat piece for cutting wax-threads when required and drawing the designs on the wax model. It is three inches to eight inches long.

(iii) *Nehai, Hantri, Katuri*—Anvil and Hammer and Chopper for breaking and cutting the brass metal into pieces and to break open the fired mould after casting.

(iv) *Sensi*-tongs, small (one foot) and big (two to three feet) size for heating the metal pieces before breaking and lifting the hot mould from *Bhati*.

(v) Chisel, Iron wire Brush (five to six inches long), File, 12 inches Hacksaw, Table-Vice, Hand Drill (1/16", 1/8"), Pliers (flat and round mouth, 6") Blow lamp and Blower are all recent additions at the instance of the Regional Design Centre of All India Handicrafts Board required for better finishing and to equip the Dokra artisan with the skill of a brassmith as well.

(vi) A fire-resistant graphite-made melting pot (*Muchi*) has been given to the Society of artisans by the Regional Design Centre for melting the metal weighing upto 10 K.G. for being poured thereafter in *Gheria* (crucibles) for casting of 20 inches *Panch Pradeep*, Owl, Elephant. The traditional *Gherias* have the capacity to contain a maximum of one and half kilogramme to two kilogramme metal to produce forms of 8"-10" height. The total cost of traditional tools per artisan's Unit will be about Rs. 16·00 (Rupees Sixteen only). The cost of the new set of tools in use by a few artisans of Darjapur at the instance of the Regional Design Centre will be about Rs. 100·00 (Rupees One Hundred only) per artisan and Rs. 150·00 (Rupees One Hundred and Fifty) per artisan for common use.

6. Of the Dariapur artisans, Sambhu, Baikuntha, Haradhan, Shyama, Rasamoy, Sanatan, Meghnad, Rakhahari, Matar, Bhikhu and Bejoy were trained in Regional Design Centre of the All India Handicrafts Board at Calcutta in batches for six-seven months at a time since 1959. Sambhu and Baikuntha stayed there in different times for about three years under a special programme of the All India Handicrafts Board for reproduction of samples of Master-handicraftsmen. The objective of the training programme was to retain the traditional skill, develop the designs and sizes of the old mythological and other items of *Ravana, Jagannath, Lakshmi-Narayan*, Owl and lamp etc. to reproduce the newer commercial items of lamp-holder, flower-bowls, birds etc. using the same process and to introduce finishing tools for ensuring quality. Now the artisan uses the chisel to repair any flaw or stain on the cast form. He uses the drill for boring. In case of damage, soldering is done.

7.1 An estimate of theoretical sequence is given below to show the average time taken by an artisan in different stages of production :

TABLE

Stage	Item		
	Pradip-1" h. 3"1 2"w. Time (minutes)	Elephant 9"h. 6"w. Time (minutes)	Panch Pradip-11" h. 6½"w. Time (minutes)
1. Clay	30	30	45
2. Core & Coating	30	60	300
3. Wax Preparation	30	30	30
4. Wax Model	15	90	480
5. Clay cover and crucible	20	40	210
6. Preparation and packing of metal pieces and covering thereon	15	30	45
7. Firing	120	120	120
8. Removal of mould	5	5	60
9. Finishing	20	60	120
	285 (4h. 5m.)	465 (7h. 45m.)	1410 (23h. 30m)

[drying periods excluded.]

7.2 Another idea of time taken for production can be realistically understood as has been explained by Baikuntha and Matar. In their opinion, an artisan takes up production of a volume of order-pieces against a given delivery-schedule and a lot of articles pass through different stages, when the next lot succeeds and so on. It is a continuing stream and an artisan generally handles different lots placed in different stages simultaneously and conveniently. According to them, against a 15-day dry-season programme, an artisan could turn out the complete cast forms as shown overleaf :

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TABLE

Category	Item of		
	No. of Elephant 3 inches height	No. of Peacock 12 inches height	No. of Krishnaleela 24 inches height
Class I artisan	50	30	4
Class II & III artisan	40	15-20	X
Class IV artisan	20	X	X

X indicates—one item which cannot be produced according to standard generally.

8. In conformity with the other rural, craftsmen, the children and the women of the Malar artisans' family are partners in the production process and the maintenance of a technique tradition. The children participate from an age of 8-10. The women participate in the following items :

(i) To bring *Entel* or *Chitamati* the basic clay from tankside ;

(ii) To pug (*San*) the clay with *Bhunsa* (husk);

(iii) To prepare *Jharalmati* coating clay-by cleansing dust and other particles by levigation and straining ;

(iv) To paste *Jharalmati* on resin model ;

(v) To assist the male artisan in all other processes of clay work, firing, filing and cleansing etc.

The menfolk are particularly specialised in (i) the preparation of *Thensa* (mould) ; (ii) the wax-modelling ; (iii) the filling in of crucible with metal pieces and (iv) firing and casting.

9. The Malar establishments are entirely independent of any other type of craft-establishment in the village in respect of the requirement of raw-materials and the stages of manufacture. There is no functional relationship either way, even with three Blacksmith families of Dariapur. Since 1966, probably due to the gradual recognition of the Craftsmen from outside and the marketing prospects of their products, Sambhu and Baikuntha had adopted one apprentice each. They charged no fee. Babu Karmakar, the son of a Dariapur Blacksmith, 14-15 years of age, was attached with Sambhu, Sisir Chakraborty, a brahmin boy, 17-18 years of age, of Dariapur was attached to Baikuntha. Both these boys have learnt clay modeling. In August, 1967, it was learnt, however, that these outsider-apprentices were no longer attending for sometime.

10. In an article in "Man in India", Volume 32, No. 4, 1952 on the "Lost Wax Process" of casting metals in Mayurbhanja (Orissa) by G. S. Roy, the following could be known of the technique as is in vogue there :

(i) the main products of the villages of Sorponkha and Baripadda in Mayurbhanj District were oil lamps in the shape of a peacock on a stand or with different kinds of decorations, idols of goddess Lakshmi seated upon an elephant ; small money boxes in the shape of different-kinds of animals and fishes and ornamentals such as bracelets, finger rings and anklets etc.

(ii) the furnace is a small circular hole (diameter 13 inches and depth 16 inches) scooped out in the mud floor of the hut ; the brasssmith blows air into the furnace by means of a hand below through a slant hole made in the floor, one end of it being connected with the base of the furnace while at the other end the below is fitted by means of a narrow bamboo pipe.

(iii) the *Thetari* Rana artisans of Sorponkha used the following tools in 1952 :

(*a*) *Singta*—a wooden hammer.

(*b*) Wooden *Pirha* and *Sitni* as used for kneading and rolling wax.

(*c*) *Jat-Pungi*—hand press as used for making wax wires [made of a brass cylinder (*Pungi*), a wooden piston (*Sulat*) and two pieces of wooden handles] ;

(*d*) *Arsipatia* (tin plate) as used for cutting the wax wires ;

(*e*) *Dokhutia* (wooden chisel), *Kaokhanda* (wooden engraving and planing too,), *Kulupkati* (wooden borer) as used for engraving designs, planing the top and curved surfaces and making holes on the wax model ;

(*f*) *Cheni*– iron chisel as used for cutting brass or bell-metal into smaller bits ;

(*g*) File and iron tongs as used for manupulation of heated objects. Excepting *Cheni*, Files and Tongs, all the others are made by artisans..

4

ECONOMY OF MALAR (DOKRA) ARTISANS' UNIT OF DARIAPUR

The traditional production units until the formation of a co-operative society
  The peak and lean months of work
  Earlier movements for sales and prices
  The new responsibilities since 1961-62
  The break-up of costing of sample pieces
  The production cost and earning per standard piece
  Complicated items and implications.

The Dariapur Dokra artisans' Co-operative Industrial Society :
  Formation
  Government assistance
  Managing Committee
  Audit Report data
  Accounts of particular artisans
  Indebtedness
  Sources and terms of orders
  Execution of orders
  Local Supervision
  A temporary set-back in work in early 1968

4

ECONOMY OF MALAR (DOKRA) ARTISANS' UNIT OF DARIAPUR

Each family is a Production Unit and is independent of each other. But a family, which, until 1961 had to move from village to village for most of the period of the year for two meals without any given covered space for shelter cannot obviously have any systematic economic life in the usual sense. Nobody knew when the group would move and for how long it would stay in one place. He moved generally with a capacity of a soldering unit and a bag with small *Dharal* (casting) products. The stay in Dariapur also could only provide a living space of 8'×6'×6' per average family before the new colony was set up in the middle of 1966. The products were suited to the taste of the settled Hindu families of "Rarh" Bengal in Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura and Midnapur Districts. *Pai* (grain-measuring bowls), *Lakshmi-Saj* (Goddess of Wealth) and other mythological figures, *Ganesh*, *Siva*, *Jagannath*, and then, Owl, Elephant and *Ghunur* (bells hung round neck of cattle and used as anklets for children), *Dhupuchi* (incense-burner) and *Ghanta* (bell for worship) were very common in a village home and the housewife will invariably look for such an article from an artisan with a nomadic character in winter months. The person having no place to stay anywhere and no gainful occupation was one who produced the metallic symbol and the seat of Goddless Lakshmi and the measuring pots of the harvest of her blessing.

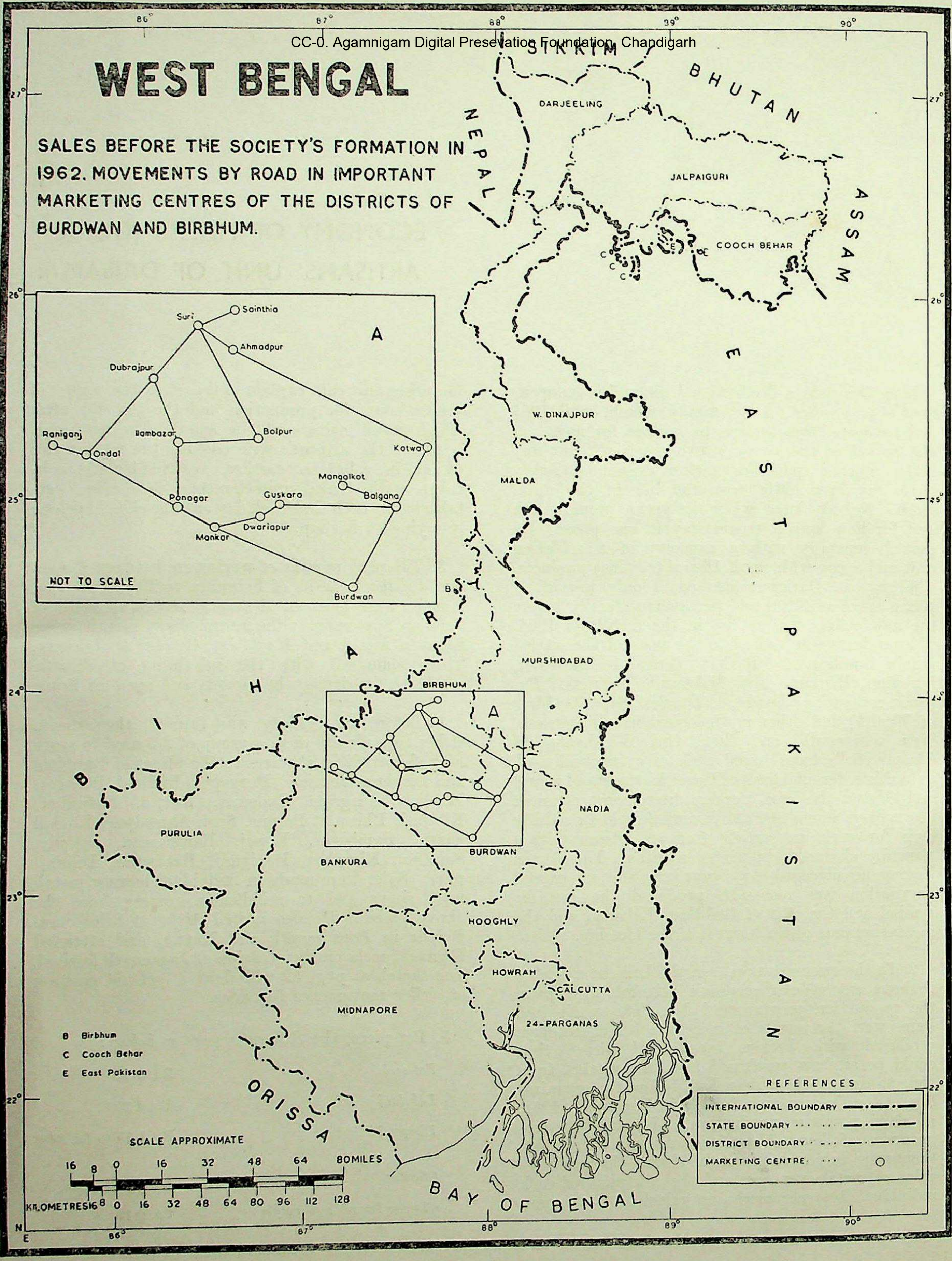
2. In the circumstances, can the Unit be expected to have any regular economic principle to explain the production programme? No. The small-sized items were the results of successive bright-sun-days produced with broken brass-metal pieces that could be anyhow purchased from the market from time to time. The artisan had, before the organization of the Co-operative Society in December, 1962, no fixed purchase, production and marketing programme to follow. These functions were there; but, there were only two ends in the chain—the purchase-price of metals per *Seer* and the sale-price of each individual item per piece—no principle of a manufacturing unit can explain in this case the value of labour-hours for production and the time-lag after which actual sales could be made. The net result is to see the artisan's wife cooking the residue rice (*Kunr*) in a broken earthen vessel (*Malsa*) to be taken with boiled miscellaneous pond-side vegetable leaves each time each day and the child hopelessly crying on her lap.

3. The peak months of work were between *Falgun* and *Jaistha* (months of February to May); the lean months were between *Asar* and *Aswin* (months of June to September); the intermediary months were between *Kartik* and *Magh*, *i.e.*, October to January. These coincided with the suitability of climatic condition for drying the moulds and open-air firing.

4. Before the Society was formed, the artisan, either individually or in a group of 2-3 used to move with his traditional wares to the places of Burdwan and Birbhum districts (Durgapur, Budbud, Panagar, Mankar, Ausgram, Balguna, Katwa, Natunhat, Khujuti, Bhiringi, Bolpur, Suri, Ahmedpur, Kochui ghata, Ilambazar, Kopai, Bardhaman, Lavpur, Sainthia, Kirnahar, Ranigunj, Hetampur, Dubrajpur). Sales were made in individual houses, metal-ware shops and to middlemen coming from the above places. He also visited *Melas* at Sriniketan-Bolpur in *Pous* month and Katwa, and attended Dignagar mela on the occasion of Jagannath festival. The sketch at page 32 will show a general position of earlier movemencs for sales.

5. Per piece, the *Sale-rates were as below*:

Pat-seri	Rs. 3·50
Lakshmi	Rs. 1·25
Dhupuchi	Rs. 1·75 to Rs. 2·00
Ghanta	Rs 1·60
Ghunur for neck of cattle	Rs. 0·12



WEST BENGAL

SALES BEFORE THE SOCIETY'S FORMATION IN 1962. MOVEMENTS BY ROAD IN IMPORTANT MARKETING CENTRES OF THE DISTRICTS OF BURDWAN AND BIRBHUM.

86°
87°
88°
89°
90°
27°
26°
25°
24°
23°
22°
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
NEPAL
ASSAM
EAST PAKISTAN
BIHAR
ORISSA
BAY OF BENGAL
DARJEELING
JALPAIGURI
COOCH BEHAR
W. DINAJPUR
MALDA
MURSHIDABAD
BIRBHUM
NADIA
PURULIA
BANKURA
BURDWAN
HOOGHLY
HOWRAH
CALCUTTA
24-PARGANAS
MIDNAPORE
A
Suri
Sainthia
Ahmadpur
Dubrajpur
Raniganj
Ondal
Ilambazar
Bolpur
Katwa
Mangalkot
Panagar
Guskara
Balgana
Dwariapur
Mankar
Burdwan
NOT TO SCALE
B
C
E
B Birbhum
C Cooch Behar
E East Pakistan
SCALE APPROXIMATE
16 8 0 16 32 48 64 80MILES
KILOMETRES16 8 0 16 32 48 64 80 96 112 128
REFERENCES
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
STATE BOUNDARY
DISTRICT BOUNDARY
MARKETING CENTRE ○
N
E

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When *Pai* was sold at wholesale rates to middlemen, per piece, a commission of 0·25-0·50 was thrust upon the artisans.

6. Since the Regional Design Centre, Calcutta of the All India Handicrafts Board and the State Cottage and Small Scale Industries Directorate took interest in the products from 1961-1962 keeping in view an urban, wealthy consumer of taste, the artisans were to adjust, with varying degrees of success and failure, with the following new ideas for organised production :

- (i) to produce against orders;
- (ii) to produce within definite time-schedule ;
- (iii) to differentiate prices between products according to sizes and designs ;
- (iv) to learn new designs ;
- (v) to work under a common shed in rainy days ;
- (vi) to keep accounts of productions and sales ;
- (vii) to be careful of rejections ;
- (viii) to face an unseen urban consumer through a Government agency and a sales organization of a metropolitan city; the obvious implications for him were to be away from a directly available rural housewife at her door-site;
- (ix) to get rid of tempting terms of the middlemen-customer (one belonging to Asansol, Burdwan for instance) in respect of his acceptance of all sorts of items from the artisan, generally irrespective of quality, and extending advances with which he could immediately swim out of hunger and breath ;
- (x) to get rid of the village *Mahajans*-moneylenders —to whom they were the hatred and thieves, and, who were, at the same time, the only source of some cash.
- (xi) to face Departmental Officers of Development Block, District, State Headquarters every now and then and to meet their queries mainly on the types of products and method of production ; to be adjusted with praises and inspections ; and,
- (xii) to work under a Community Organisation.

7. Perhaps, a rural sociologist, an economist, a community organiser, a social worker in the field of tribal population, a Departmental Officer and a technical expert will all simultaneously agree to comment that the path from the old, unorganized order of production to the newer, organised methods will here be highly unpredictable and be subject more to lapses and the above expectations were too costly. But, surprisingly, during the period from 1961-66, there was a clear trend of progress in spite of occasional reverses and lapses in respect of business, quality of productions and adherence to the industry. This was just possible because a group already existing at points of continued starvation, exploitation, disease, drinking, dirt and social hatred and exclusion, almost immediately favourably reacted to the raised status of their handicraft and skill and close care of the (Regional Design Centre) technical experts to bring them into the field of organised production. The improvement of their designs and ready marketing of products and the regular payment of wages brought them closer to the co-operative society. The artisans become gradually accustomd to abide by the technical directions. Freedom from immediate hunger was the base and the personal affection of technical officers and the organisers of the craftsmen was the mortar which helped the organisation to be built up as an economic Unit. The artisans depended on the Departmental Organisors for orders, designs and payment and the artisans came to be known as a community capable of turning out the best metal pieces of decorative and traditional values in hollow-casting process.

8. An idea is given in the table below to indicate the break-up of the current recurring costing of two items of products of Dariapur as in June, 1967. This is exclusive of labour charges.

TABLE

Item	10″ *Panch-Pradeep*			20″ *Jagannath*	
	Rate (Rs.)	Quantity Reqd.	Cost (Rs.)	Quantity Reqd.	Cost (Rs.)
Resin (*Dhuna*)	3·00 kilogramme	175 gramme	0·53	400 gramme	1·20
Mustard oil	5·50 ,,	90 ,,	0·50	125 ,,	0·70
Brass scrap	7·25 ,,	2 kilogramme	14·50	5 kilogramme	36·25

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TABLE—*contd.*

Item	10″ *Panch Pradeep*			20″ *Jagannath*	
	Rate (Rs.)	Quantity Reqd.	Cost (Rs.)	Quantity Reqd.	Cost (Rs.)
Fuel—					
Cowdung cake	1 *Pan* (80 Nos.)		0·25	3 *Pan*	0·75
Coal	10 kilogramme		0·40	20 kilogramme	0·80
Soldering materials			0·90		1·90
Total			**17·13**		**41·60**
Net sale-price (after allowing commission of 10-12⅓ per cent)			*24·00*		*81·00*

9. The table below will show, for 15 standard items, the total cost excluding labour, the production-capacity per artisan per month, sale-price in 1964/1967 and the artisan's share :

TABLE

Table on Capacity/Production Cost/Price/Labour Share for Skill

Item (measurement for height)	Raw material weight per piece (Approx.)	Production capacity per artisan per month (No.)	Total cost of production per piece excluding labour		Net sale price, 1964 as per price list		Price					
							As per price list 1967		Excluding commission		Artisan's share	
			Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
22″ *Lakshmi-Narayan*	6 kilogramme	6	65	00	100	00	125	00	109	37	93	75
20″ *Krishnalila*	5 ,,	8	45	00	100	00	125	00	109	37	93	75
20″ Elephant	5 ,,	8	45	00	100	00	125	00	109	37	93	75
20″ *Jagannath*	5 ,,	8	41	60	98	65	108	00	94	50	81	00
19″ *Ganesh*	4 ,,	8	40	00	98	65	108	00	94	50	81	00
11″ *Ravana*	2 ,,	12	18	00	27	50	32	00	28	00	14	00
10″ *Panch Pradeep*	2 ,,	12	17	13	27	75	32	00	28	00	24	00
10″ *Hara Ganga*	2½ ,,	8	22	00	27	75	32	00	28	00	24	00
6½″ *Rath* on Elephant	1¼ ,,	15	10	00	20	00	21	00	18	37	15	75
9½″ Goddess *Lakshmi* riding on owl	1 ,,	15	10	00	16	00	17	00	14	87	12	75
9″ Lord *Siva*	1 ,,	16	10	00	16	00	16	50	14	43	12	37
7″ Owl	1 ,,	50	8	00	13	30	14	00	12	25	10	50
6″ Ram with arrow and bow	300 gramme	20	3	25	10	65	12	00	10	50	9	00
6″ *Gajalakshmi*	250 ,,	40	3	00	8	35	8	75	7	66	6	37
Jagannath	250 ,,	60	2	50	3	30	4	00	23	50	3	00

Note : Based on the Report of Manager, Dariapur Dokra Artisans' Cooperative Industrial Society, dated 2-9-67.

10. Baikuntha reported on September 4, 1967 that, for 24 inches *Hari* on elephant, the artisan uses seven kilogramme of metal per piece and used to get his share of Rs. 180·00. Only Sambhu and Baikuntha can do the item. The artisan uses a different *Muchi* (crucible) made of clay, gets his metal molten and pours it in mould, in which, air-vents are attached also. This method is only for functional convenience in handling a big article.

11. The table at para 9 will show that the wage share is larger when the item is bigger in size and complicated in designs. The wage-differential is not exactly explained by the time taken. The additional value is mostly due to the superior craftsmanship paid for by the customers, from whom, there are more orders for such items. Hence, there is an inherent desire of each artisan to have these jobs, but, the limiting factors for an average one are his lesser degree of skill in executing them to specifications and immediate lack of funds to purchase *Pitar*. The result is that, three or four artisans actually enjoy the benefit of higher wage for work with good designs, who have an unexposed but persistent desire to retain the limiting factors of the remaining artisans.

12. The Dariapur Dokra artisans' Cooperative Industrial Society was registered in December, 1962 [Regd. No. 3033, dated 20-12-62]. Initial membership in books was 27. It was 29/29/30/30 in 1963-64/1964-65, 1965-66 and 1966-67 respectively*. Three members have expired meanwhile. Paid-up Share Capital was Rs. 516 in June, 1967 and was Rs. 506 in June, 1964. Since the Society has been formed, most of the productions and sales of individual artisans have been in the account of the Society.

13. The Society has received the following assistance from the Government :

Workshed in Ghatakpukur site	Rs. 500·00 (grant)
Construction grant	Rs. 10,000·00
Managerial assistance	Rs. 1,500·00
Working capital loan	
(i) May, 1963	Rs. 2,500·00
(ii) May, 1966	Rs. 2,000·00
Payable in five years ; second and first instalment have been paid for (i) and (ii) respectively	
Equipment Loan in May, 1963 payable in 5 years	Rs. 500·00

14. There have been 2 elections so far in the Society. The Director of Regional Design Centre (Shri P. Sen), Calcutta continues to be the Chairman of the Society. All the artisans of the establishments are members and five of them form the Managing Committee. There are no non-artisan member. Sambhu, Manchar, Dharani, Baikuntha and Rasamoy were members on the first Committee and Sambhu, Baikuntha, Meghnad, Badal, Muchiram and Gurubal are members on the second Committee. The Second Committee was formed on 2-10-66. Sambhu Karmakar continues to be the Secretary from the beginning. Thirty-six meetings were held during the tenure of the first Managing Committee and 6 meetings have so far (till August, 1967) been convened by the Second Committee.

15. The Extension Officer (Industries) of the Ausgram-I Development Block is the Executive Officer of the Society.

16. The following information about the Society are obtained from the Audit Reports :

CO-OPERATIVE YEAR

For the Year 1962-63

Loans from Provincial Co-operative Bank	Rs. 2,500·00
Loans to Members	Rs. 1,930·00
Sales	Rs. 2,396·59
Wages	Rs. 2,054·46
Profit	Rs. 506·31

For the Year 1963-64

Loans from Government	Rs. 500·00
Withdrawals from Central Co-operative Bank	Rs. 29,508·00
Loans to members	Rs. 3,260·00
Loans recovered from members	Rs. 3,273·00
Advance recouped from members	Rs. 20,636·00
Sales of goods	Rs. 39,840·00
Deposits in Savings account	Rs. 31,510·00
Advance to members	Rs. 11 776·00
Wages	Rs. 34 693·00
Profit	Rs. 4 304·00

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*The figure was 30 in 1967-68 and 1968-69 also.

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For the Year 1964-65

Withdrawals from Central Co-operative Bank	Rs. 18,456·00
Loans recovered from members	Rs. 2,326·00
Loans to members	Rs. 1,960·00
Sales	Rs. 24,847·00
Deposits in Central Co-operative Bank	Rs. 23,155·00
Advance to members	Rs. 2,544·00
Advance recouped from members	Rs. 3,440·00
Wages	Rs. 22,300·00
Profit	Rs. 1,800·00

For the Year 1965-66

Grant from Government for Workshed	Rs. 10,000·00
Withdrawal from Savings accounts	Rs. 8,600·00 Rs. 32,460·00
Loans recovered from individuals	Rs. 55·00
Advances recouped from members	Rs. 7,802·00
Sales of articles	Rs. 37,664·00
Purchase of land	Rs. 1,914·00
Workshed construction	Rs. 8,100·00
Deposits in Savings accounts	Rs. 32,989·00 Rs. 10,025·00
Loans to individuals	Rs. 1,570·00
Advances to members	Rs. 10,719·00
Wages to artisans	Rs. 27,685·00
Net profit	Rs. 6,035·00

For the Year 1966-67

Withdrawals from Savings account	Rs. 30,733·00
Advances recouped from members	Rs. 13,167·00
Sales of goods	Rs. 30,475·00
Deposits to Savings account	Rs. 27,438·00
Advances to members	Rs. 21,832·00
Wages to artisans	Rs. 24,502·00
Net profit	Rs. 3,279·00

NOTE : Sales were for Rs. 41,360 and 28,033·24 respectively in 1967–68 and 1968–69.

17. The Secretary operates the account of Society with the Bank. 4 per cent is allowed on Savings. At the time of any withdrawal from Bank, no objection certificate is issued by Extension Officer (Industries) and the Inspector of Co-operative Societies of Ausgram-I (Burdwan) Block.

18. Here below is an account of six-artisan-members of 3-merit categories in relation to their Co-operative Society for Co-operative years of 1964-65, 1965-66 and 1966-67.

	Co-operative years of											
	1964-65				1965-66				1966-67			
	Received		Repaid		Received		Repaid		Received		Repaid	
	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
					(i) *Sri Sambhu Nath Karmakar*							
Loan	300	00	300	00	500	00	..	..	..	..	500	00
Advance	160	00	160	00	1,434	33	1,551	00	6,285	00	3,410	00
Earning*	4,062	23	..	..	9,101	45	..	..	..	..	11,332	37

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	Co-operative years of											
	1964-65				1965-66				1966-67			
	Received		Repaid		Received		Repaid		Received		Repaid	
	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
					(ii) *Sri Baikuntha Karmakar*							
Loan	400	00	400	00	500	00	..	..	..	..	500	00
Advance	114	00	64	00	1,810	39	1,559	59	4,411	25	2,294	49
Earning*	3,542	57	..	..	5,774	78	..	..	..	..	4,058	83
					(iii) *Sri Budhu Karmakar*							
Loan	300	00	300	00	100	00	..	..	..	..	100	00
Advance	145	00	205	00	938	25	732	24	1,777	00	1,365	29
Earning*	1,647	54	..	..	1,791	48	..	..	..	..	1,839	84
					(iv) *Sri Sanatan Karmakar*							
Loan	200	00	200	00	120	00	..	..	..	..	120	00
Advance	230	00	50	00	1,290	40	709	31	1,812	00	807	40
Earning*	1,460	59	..	..	1,685	40	..	..	..	..	1,379	56
					(v) *Sri Badal Karmakar*							
Loan	100	00	100	00	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Advance	200	00	170	00	560	85	162	25	636	00	550	75
Earning*	568	52	..	..	658	83	..	..	..	..	621	26
					(vi) *Sri Gurubal Karmakar*							
Loan	70	00	40	00	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Advance	210	00	180	00	331	62	75	12	262	80	69	52
Earning*	463	36	..	..	546	67	..	..	..	..	101	52

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* Gross Earning implies wages and cost of raw materials met by artisans.

** Indicates non-availability of figures.

19. During the 1966-67 Co-operative year till June, 8, 1967, the following is an account of the nature of wage-payments to six artisan-members:—

(i) *Sambhu*	(*a*) 17 times	
	(*b*) Maximum at a time	Rs.1,085·00
	(*c*) Minimum at a time	Rs. 15·00
	(*d*) Generally at a time	Rs. 500·00 Rs. 800·00
(ii) *Baikuntha*	(*a*) 15 times	
	(*b*) Maximum at a time	Rs. 750·00
	(*c*) Minimum at a time	Rs. 8·00
	(*d*) Generally at a time	Between Rs. 100·00 to Rs. 200·00

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(iii) *Sanatan*	(a) 8 times	
	(b) Maximum at a time	Rs. 400·00
	(c) Minimum at a time	Rs. 39·00
	(d) Generally at a time	Below Rs. 100·00
(iv) *Budhu*	(a) 11 times	
	(b) Maximum at a time	Rs. 187·00
	(c) Minimum at a time	Rs. 18·00
	(d) Generally at a time	Below Rs. 100·00 Rs. 200·00
(v) *Muchiram*	(a) 7 times	
	(b) Maximum at a time	Rs. 188·00
	(c) Minimum at a time	Rs. 2·00
	(d) Generally at a time	Below Rs. 100·00
(vi) *Badal*	(a) 7 times	
	(b) Maximum at a time	Rs. 183·00
	(c) Minimum at a time	Rs. 10·00
	(d) Generally at a time	Below Rs. 100·00

20. The scrutiny of actual wage-payments by the Society will give an idea that the earnings vary and the gap has been persisting. There are reports of indebtedness amongst artisans fluctuating in degrees with the rate of earnings. Apart from the fact that, all the artisans are not master-craftsmen and a few of them only can produce the articles of bigger dimensions and intricate designs in perfect order, the occasional laziness, indifference and lack of seriousness have been continuously dragging most of them in the midst of small orders, rejections of productions, low earnings and indebtedness. There are reports that the few of them whose earnings are higher have been acting as local short-term financiers also, like village *Mahajans.* In June, 1967, the artisans themselves reported, they were locally indebted to the extent of Rs, 3,000·00 and the rate of interest was 0·12 paise per Rupee per month. It is reported that excepting Sambhu, all others have been indebted. One of the reason why Baikuntha has been brought in Regional Design Centre in August, 1967 for reproduction work for sometime is to lesson the extent of his debt. In his case, the debt is partly due to the expenses reflected for disease. The indebtedness is again rs being in withering away of production advancements. expended on consumption and loan repayat the The strength of the organization dwindles at the same time in as such as its capacity of accepting and honouring bulk orders shrinks. The Society has faced such a situation often. In 1960-61, when the artisans first came in contacts with the Regional Design Centre, it was understood, excepting Sambhu, all were indebted to an extent of Rs. 300-400 per head. Baikuntha had loans due for Rs. 700·00. With organised productions in the Society and marketing of products, the indebtedness was virtually insignificant in course of 3-4 years. The mid-1967 indebtedness was largely due to falling demand for the deterioration in the quality of products for use of inferior metal. Some of them have incurred loans for medical expenses also. Creditor and Debtor relationship exists between the artisan-members themselves. The quality degraded and the customer-parties were reported to be doubtful about a Dariapur product. In a discussion held on August 21,1967, Budhu, a verteran artisan remarked in the context that, the source of the product could be "Gopinathbati" (a neighbouring village) to avoid the risk of customers' apathy for their name "Dariapur". All the attending artisans in the cottage of Baikuntha responded with loud laugh. It showed that, in the struggle for existence, a Malar artisan was not very interested about the goodwill of the place (Dariapur), which, incidentally, became very important with the official sponsorers of the industry. When Sri P. Sen, Director, Regional Design Centre was still very insistent on the quality aspect and told them that he would not be there any more if his technical instructions were not followed. Budhu (the elderly artisan), Matar (a young artisan) and Sambhu (the master-craftsman) assured that the quality would improve and, at the same, believed that Sri Sen would also be with them. Matar remarked that they should be careful about Rang and Rang, *i.e.*, colouring the surface of the product and unsatisfactory soldering, which resulted in low quality.

21. The Society secures orders from :

(i) The Handicrafts and Handloom Export Corporation, Calcutta*.

(ii) Bengal Home Industries Association, Calcutta*.

(iii) M. K. Burman, Calcutta (Exporter).

(iv) Oriental Handicrafts (Exporter), Calcutta.

(v) S. K. Sen & Co. (Exporter), Calcutta.

(vi) West Bengal Small Industries Corporation, Calcutta.
(vii) Director, Regional Design Centre, Calcutta.
(viii) Superintendent, Government Sales Emporia, Calcutta.
(ix) Hooghly Traders, Calcutta.
(x) C. Hsu, New Delhi.
(xi) Central Cottage Industries Emporium, New Delhi.
(xii) Shoan Sehakari Sangha, Bombay*.
(xiii) Contemporary Arts & Crafts, Bombay*.
(xiv) Deesons, Bombay.

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*Indicates the importance of the agency in respect of quantum of orders.

It will thus be seen that the market of the products is now wider beyond the range of artisan's immediate contacts. He does not know who actually consumes his products. He only depends on the orders for his livelihood and is aware that the different agencies of metropolitan cities and foreigners are his patrons. There have exports to U.S.A., Canada and other countries including France, Italy, Australia, East Kenya as well every year. In securing these orders for the Society, the role of the Regional Design Centre has been very significant. The foreign countries have preferred newer items of bigger size.

22. When placing the orders, the parties generally quote the Photo Number of the product. The Society asks for advances when the rates are accepted. The advances are extended to the extent of 25 per cent of value of orders. The delivery time allowed is 1-3 months depending on the value of orders to be between Rs. 3-4,000-10,000. The Society has to bear all cost for rejections. The Society has to extend a commission of 10-12 per cent on the Sales-value to the parties.

23. The Secretary of the Society distributes orders amongst the members, in consultation with the Executive Officer, according to capabilities and extends a maximum of 50 per cent of value as advance, generally in more than one transaction as work proceeds, to be adjusted against wages. The Society also issues loans to the extent of Rs. 50·00 -500·00 for one year to be repaid in four instalments which carry a five per cent interest. The members have shown interest in taking advances. The relatively weaker and second-grade artisans cannot execute bulk orders nor can take up larger-size items.

24. At the instance of the Chairman of the Society, there are five functional groups amongst members to ensure the productions according to specifications and the delivery within time-schedule. These groups are headed by five artisans having personal influence over the others. These are constituted by :

(i) *Sambhu*, Rasana, Bejoy and Haradhan.
(ii) *Baikuntha*, Budhu, Muchiram and Bhairab.
(iii) *Meghnad* and Rakhahari.
(iv) *Rasamay*, Syamapada and Badal.
(v) Sanatan, Biswanath, Gurubal and Lakhai.

The first member in each group is the Supervisor, Sambhu's group is reported to be functioning more effectively than others. Sambhu has earned a reputation as a good supervising artisan also.

25. In order that the quality of products improved and the money was properly utilised, the Society decided on August 21, 1967 (i) to arrange supplies of metal by the Society and not to leave the purchases on individual members to ensure 60 per cent of copper in the alloy; (ii) to advance running payments in stages only against the progress of work as verified and (iii) to accept the products of standard specifications only and to arrange for their separate stores.

26. Orders were accepted by the Society in bulk and had to be executed within definite time schedule. Most of them excepting Sambhu and Baikuntha could not often purchase raw materials initially at own cost and wait for wage payments. Hence, these two artisans primarily had many occasions to receive orders from the Society and to firm them out to others against daily wages of about Rs. 2·00-2·50. Haradhan, Bejoy, Syama, Badal, Rasamoy, Rasana and Gurubal were understood to have worked as hired artisans. This partly explains the relative wage-differences in their accounts with the Society.

27. The initial progress of the Society is linked up with the active and sincere efforts of Sri Harihar Chakraborty (a local villager) as a Manager and Sri Basudeb Roy Choudhury as an Executive Officer Sri C. N. Chatterjee, the new Extension Officer. (Industries) has also taken up the problem. Sri Chakraborty's association with the Soceity was largely responsible for a growing social bond between the Dokras and the village people. It was perhaps due to the fact that he was not involved in village pressure groups (Sāte Pānche Nāi), he settled the accounts of members informally and the artisan-members were the customers in his shop (Latkona) when they were near Ghatakpukur until the middle of 1966. He also maintained no differences with them. Shri Roy Choudhury was an effective Supervisor and could even take them to task when the

quality deteriorated and the members were found to be indifferent. The Regional Design Centre maintained the technical link with the artisans at production-point and at marketing-point for pre-delivery inspection at Calcutta.

28. In early 1968, the Society faced a set back in work primarily due to inadequate flow of orders. But, there still continued a potential conspicuous demand for cast-metal decorative items in important cities in and outside the country, which was availed of by the few marketing agencies. Somehow, one firm at Calcutta tried that time to seize the opportunity of producing these items by a few of the Dariapur Craftsmen by alluring them with good wages. It was reported by the local officers that three artisans immediately left the Society for ready earnings at Calcutta. Such desertion, on the other hand, was not considered a happy feature by other members, as, in their opinion, it might cause a serious crack in the Society's integrity and in its' attempts made so far for a settlement at Dariapur. A few master-craftsmen became also conscious that their skill was going to be exploited for personal profits of urban entrepreneurs. Thus, they have been striving hard to get these deserters back (one member has returned back in May, 1968) by having as much of orders through recognised agencies and local Industries' officers for gainfully employing the remaining members. Considering the situation as alarming, the Directorate of Cottage & Small Scale Industries has also been taking steps to organise the flow of orders and the delivery for the two Societies at Dariapur (Burdwan) and Rampur (Bankura) together as far as practicable. The course of events is yet to be ascertained, but worth pursuing. As a matter of fact, the gravity of the position was discussed with Dariapur artisans on June 16, 1968, when the author was present there along with Director, Regional Design Centre, the Block Development Officer, Ausgram I, the District and Block-level Extension Officers (Industries).

29.1. Only two artisans, Sambhu and Baikuntha, have a source of income from agricultural land. The possession of land is the result of their continued surplus income from craft-occupation over the expenditure for living during the last 25 years at Dariapur. But they have not been cultivators themselves. Sambhu could raise his possession to 7½ *Bighas* (1 *Bigha*=1/3 acre) of land in June, 1967 from 3½ *Bighas* in December, 1964. Baikuntha could raise the same to 2½ *Bighas* from 1 *Bigha* during the same period.

29.2. Eventhough, there are lean days and months for all the Dokra artisans, particularly in the rainy season, which coincides with the main cultivation season (*Khariff*), they have not so far generally taken up ploughing as another gainful occupation. Badal, Narayan and Rasana were, however, engaged by local villagers sometime for agricultural operations of setting plot-boundaries (*Aál*) and raising paddy seedlings (*Bichan Tolá*). Baikuntha has given his land on *Barga* (50:50 share) to a local person of 'Bauri' community. Sambhu used to have the same practice ; but, in early 1967, he has brought in one family from Guskara of 'Maghaya' (Dom community) for wholetime work in cultivation and care of bullocks. This family consists of one father, one mother, one son and son's wife. These persons use the surname of 'Turi'. The working men are Rajen Turi and Bablu Turi, his son. Sambhu gets 50 per cent share of the total produce and seven maunds of paddy against his expenditure for seeds, manure and bullocks. The 'Maghaya' family has a house just in front of Sambhu's one which closely resembles an improvised living space of a malar artisan when he was settled by the side of Ghatakpukur. The small cattle-shed of Sambhu is linked up with the 'Maghaya' house.

29.3. Only three Malar (Dokra) families have the following cattle :

Matar .	1 cow (purchased in early 1967)
Baikuntha	1 cow (purchased in 1965)
Sambhu	3 cows (purchased in 1965) +2 bullocks

29.4 Each of the above three members has also one bicycle. This facilitates their local movements to and from Guskara.

5

COMMUNITY OF MALARS (DOKRAS) OF DARIAPUR

Genealogical groups within the community

Their religious functions

Their social customs

Their food

Their formal education

Their recreation and songs

Their shyness

Their fellow-feelings

An out-caste community

Families in huts

5

COMMUNITY OF MALARS (DOKRAS) OF DARIAPUR

DARIAPUR MALARS ARE BOUND BY GENEALOGICAL GROUPS

There are the genealogical groups amongst the Malars who indentify these as :

Gosthis—In order of honour, these are :

Name of lineage	Persons under the Group
(i) *Rajgosthi*	Meghnad, Gurubal, Sanatan
(ii) *Moral*	Badal, Biswanath
(iii) *Kulihar*	Sambhu, Rasamoy, Budhu, Haradhan, Rasana, Syama
(iv) *Chowdhury*	Baikuntha, Matar
(v) *Takoar*	Kalipada (since left the village), Muchiram, Bojoy
(vi) *Chorbandi*	Prahlad and Golak (since left the village.)

Rajgosthi will issue orders. *Moral* and *Kulihar* will ensure execution of orders and are advisors of the Raja. *Choudhury* will call for the victims and is responsible for organising functions and community *Meals*. *Takoar* will distribute food in case of festivals. *Chorbandi* will present a social victim in person to the *Rajgosthi*. Their respective functions are related to the maintenance of justice within the group as a whole. No marriage is allowed within members of the same *Gosthi*, but it may only take place on an inter-gosthi basis within MALAR Community. They have no marriage relationship with any other Hindu communities including traditional Karmakars.

THEIR RELIGIOUS FUNCTIONS

2.1. The following is an account of the religious functions of the malars : *Viswakarma* is worshipped in *Sankranti* in the month of *Bhadra*. It is held in the workshed premises of the new colony and used to be held in *Barowari* under the tree while at Ghatakpukur site. The image (*Khendar*) is purchased from Guskara at a price of about Rs. 15·00. All the residents of the colony participate. Their relatives of Guskara are also invited. One local *Baen* is called for to play on *Dhol* (Drum) who is accompanied by another assistant to strike metal disk against a total payment of Rs. 10·00 and food. Cucumber is put as an oblation. There is no priest. The persons themselves worship. There is a common pool (*Bhog*) of eatable offering consisting of pressed rice (*Chira*), molasses (*Gur*), milk, banana and sweet (*Manda*). The symbolic pot (*Ghat*) and the image are immersed the next morning and eve respectively in the nearby pond.

2.2. *Manasha* is worshipped in *Bhadra Sankranti* in *Manashatala* with the pot in the name of the goddess known as *Lagbari*. It is purchased from the village of Orgaon in the district of Burdwan at a cost of Rs. 3·00—3·50. It is one inch high. The malars act as priests themselves. Goat, duck and chicken are put to sacrifice to the goddess. There is the common pool of offering of eatable articles as in *Viswakarma Puja*. In case of any particular promise (*Manasik*) of any family, separate offerings are arranged.

2.3 There is then *Harinaam* in *Paus Sankranti* under the common workshed with *Khol* and *Kartal* (local musical instruments). The *Khol* is borrowed from Dariapur village. *Kartal* set is available in the colony itself. There is *Samkirtan* by all concerned for the whole night. The people bathe next morning and *Batasa* (molasses-cake of one inch diameter) is distributed by wide scattering. The local villagers of the Bauri, Bagdi and Dom Communities attend *Hariluth* (distribution of *Batasa*). *Bhog* (small earthen flat pots containing sacrificed eatables) is also distributed by the Dokras to the respectable Dariapur families of Sri Manoranjan Roy (Zamindar), Sri Ram Prasad Ghatak, Sri Fakir Goswami (Music Teacher), Sri Dinesh Bandopadhyay (Post Master) and Harihar Chakraborty (Manager of the Artisans' Co-operative Society).

2.4. They have a priest named Sasthi of Sonpur in Burdwan district near Katwa, who is occasionally asked for bigger functions.

THEIR SOCIAL CUSTOMS

3. The customs followed by the malars are: (i) *Sadbhat* when for safe delivery of a pregnant housewife, an ordinary feast is given by the father of the girl in the seventh or ninth month of pregnancy and relatives are invited. There is no formal *Puja*. (ii) When a baby is born, the father distributes country-wine to relatives; generally of the value of Rs. 12·00—13·00 in case of a male child and Rs. 8·00—10·00 in case of a female child. (iii) In the case of a death, austerity (*Chonat*) is observed and the family members of the same lineage do not use for ten days any umbrella and footwear nor consume fish and meat; marriages will be deferred for one year. If there is any birth, the family members of the same lineage observe austerity for twenty-one days. After death, a few persons are invited and country-wine is sprinkled and consumed. When *Chonat* is over, the sprinkling of water of Ganges overhead is considered to have a purifying effect. (iv) In the case of a marriage, the father of the daughter has to pay a dowry of Rs. 12 or to arrange for a feast according to means. He has to give a ring to the bridegroom and a few domestic utensils and clothes to the bride. The father of the bridegroom need not pay any money dowry but arrange for a feast costing Rs. 2·00—300·00 in a *Baubhat*. (v) When the male child is six months' old, he is given the first rice (*Mukhebhat*). When the female child is seven months' old, the relatives are invited. (vi) In marriage functions of Malar families, the two Dumka (Santhal Parganas, Bihar) Blacksmith families of Dariapur and the Maghaya families of Guskara are invited. "Maghayas" are Doms and their occupation is driving bullock-carts (*Garoan*) and carrying baggages (*Mute*). Some of the Malar artisans have also been invited by the above families in the occasions of sisters' marriage and the first rice-eating ceremony of a child. (vii) The artisan members sometimes take bath in Ganges at Katwa (Burdwan) and Triveni (Hooghly) for purification on the occasions of *Paus Sankranti* and *Bhadra Sankranti*. Housewives are used to extend *Dhurṅka* (*Ghomta* or veil) in front of *Sash* (mother-in-law) and *Gheṅhra* (husband). The old lady of the community has been seen in early morning to pray with folded hands before the Sun.

THEIR FOOD

4. The day of a Malar artisan begins with (fried rice) *Muri* and *Cha* (tea) generally. He works until it is almost noon. When there is money, his midday meal provides for rice, *Dal* and a curry; otherwise, it is generally rice and a boiled vegetable. After some rest, he works until evening. He then has a drink of *Bhat-mad, i.e., Gani* after a wash in the evening from the local shop. Generally, one kilogramme of *Gani* is consumed by two working adults including women. It costs 78 paise in June, 1967 and, two years back, the price was 50 paise. At about 8-9 p.m. the midday meal items are repeated. The poorer families have very hard days of complete fasting —once or two times a day or only *Muri* (fried rice) for a few days together whom lean days continue and there is no order at hand.

THEIR FORMAL EDUCATION

5. In 1964 November, the following Malar (Dokra) boys were of school-going age: Prafulla, Banamali, Dukhamoy (1), Dukhamoy (2), Habul, Gairab, Sukhamoy, Bhairab, Hari. Out of them, Sukhamoy (son of Sambhu) and Bhairab (son of Baikuntha) were only the students of Class IV in Dariapur Free Upper Primary School. Their brothers (2) were also students of Class I and II respectively. The school had 71 students on roll, of whom, 35 were girls. In a mid-term examination, marks as obtained by Bhairab and Sukhamoy were:

	English	Arithmetic	Geography	History
Bhairab	21/50	39/100	57/100	27/50
Sukhamoy	27/50	40/100	50/100	26/50

These boys were absent for 8-10 days in a month. The teachers reported that their behaviour was satisfactory and they were neither very shy, nor very vocal. They participated in games of friends. They used to sit side by side and the relative position was never changed. Dukhamoy and Gairab were reported to be very irregular in attendance and their performance was not generally satisfactory. In June, 1967, it was learnt that only Sukhamoy* continued studies and was a student of Class VI in Guskara High English School. He goes there in the bus or on his father's cycle. Bhairab discontinued. Baikuntha, the father of Bhairab, said it was for economic reasons. Bhairab has now been an artisan

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* Sukhamoy could develop a personal acquaintance with the author as the letter used to mix very often during all the visits with the children and womenfolk with an interest of affection and regards. Sukhamoy had written a few letters to him in 1967, '68 and '69 to state that a service for him in Calcutta will be very helpful for the family. All the time, the author replied back to advice his stay in the village itself, to continue his studies and to asist his father in the craft-occupation. He also requested the local Block Development Officer to see if the school dues could be exempted.

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and assists his father wholetime. 5 boys belonging to the families of Sambhu, Dharani, Badal and Muchiram were reported to be attending occasionally a night school at Dariapur, which was for the boys of Bauri, Dom and Majhi families. From the Regional Design Centre at Calcutta, at different times of their stay, Sambhu, Baikuntha, Matar, Haradhan, Syama and Rasamoy learnt how to sign their own names.

THEIR RECREATION

6.1. There is a Krishnajatra Party under Baikuntha, which arranges two fullnight shows during Durga Puja vacation in autumn in Dariapur and Gopinathbathi villages. The Party has it's own Harmonium, *Kartal* and the *Tabla* set.

6.2. On September 1, 1967, at Regional Design Centre at Calcutta, Baikuntha narrated a story of his experience to the author relating to a period some years before the whole community was introduced to the Regional Design Centre in 1959. Incidentally, Baikuntha is best-known to be most suited for organising social functions and participating in witty discussions. He had been in village Chinpai in Birbhum to sell his wares worth about Rs. 150·00. The articles were mostly grain-measuring bowls and *Lakshmisaj*. It was winter. He was taking rest in a country-liquor shop. It was a village visited by him a number of times and the people were known. A few persons of 'Bauri' community were also in the shop. They asked him to spend the night in their place. In due course, he was taken to a house of an old man, whose elder brother had since died a few days back. On the conviction that, the dead old man was still living in spirits haunting upon his neighbours at nights under the influence of *Puskara*, all the people of the Bauri locality were sleeping outside the rooms in the open. The male adults were on one side and the womenfolk including children were on another side. Such huts were all adjacent to each other and the open floor was common. There was a lamp (*Lampha*) in the room of the dead man. The living old man was lying just near that room. Baikuntha was given a space in closest proximity of the haunted room after he was offered *Chira* (pressed rice) and *Gur* (molasses). But, at no time, any Bauri gave him a slightest indication about why no one stayed inside the rooms. By intuition, however, he remained vaguely doubtful about the environment as such and was awake and vigilant on his wares. All others were also awake to see what could happen on Baikuntha, who was nearest to the area of the spirit. He started a story of *Sishkanya* beginning with—there was a king......It seemed to all that it was an unending story. Every one became restless as to why nothing was still happening affecting Baikuntha. At some point of time, he heard a continuous cracking sound (the door of the haunted room was shivering due to wind) and the dogs barking from the bamboo-grove and then found the flickering flames of the lamp. The Bauris uttered "there the spirit was coming". Suddenly, he became nervous, took his bag, gave a big frog jump crossing over the male persons and fell on with a crash on the womenfolk. The real drama ended there. Baikuntha then added that whenever this story was repeated to his neighbours in Dariapur, everyone burst into laughter and waited impatiently for the climax-point of crash on women to appear.

THEIR SONGS

7.1. The Malar Karmakars have own songs sung generally at the time of the marriage ceremony of the daughter, the first rice-eating ceremony of the child, and the birth of a baby.

7.2 The marriage songs, gathered by the author casually during a conversation with Baikuntha and Matar at Regional Design Centre, Calcutta on September 21, 1967, have two parts : (i) the one that is sung in marriage-night by the members of the family immediately before the daughter is married. That expresses the sentiments of the members in advising the bride to go in for the marriage occasion before the sun rises and to be awake from her slumber. The mother cries at the door-point, the father cries near the place where the dowry (*Solaana*) is placed and the brothers cry at the spot of marriage (*Chamra*, equivalent to *Chadnatala* in Bengali) ; (ii) the other that is sung by the brother of bride and her mother after the bride has started for her husband's house. That expresses their sentiments that, gradually, by miles of distances being covered, the bride goes away from her parents' house. The more the distance, the deeper is the feeling of separation. The mother gives solace to her daughter by saying that she may go peacefully to-day, but, afterwards, her brother, sister, father and the husband of sister would again to bring her back to parents' home and, thus, the sweet relation would continue even after marriage.

7.3. The song in the first context is reproduced below :

Utha Utha Beti kiri Nāo
Uday Bhālag
Kaise Kaise Nidda Niranjan Bhel
Kaise Bihan Halag.
Mā Torā Kaṅde Rasaāiyṅ Baithe
Baba Torā kaṅde Sabhāy Baithego
Chāro Bhāyā Kande Chāmrā Dharke
Ebar Bihin Pouṅcha Lago.

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7.4. The song in the second context is reproduced below :

Ekasā Gele Bihin
Duoksā Gele Tarāg
Tino Kasā Dañriye Udās Bhel
Ebār Bihin Chutā lago.
Āge Pethāmu Beti
Ego Bābā Tor Jāyi
Tabe Pethāmu Beti
Bhātu Bihin Jāyi
Tārpar Pethāmu Beti
Mā Tor Jāyi
Tārpar Pethāmu Beti
Āji Tar Jāyi.

THEIR SHYNESS IN RETROSPECT AND NOW

8.1. The Malars have been more steady now and is no longer too shy. It was evident from a conversation with Shri P. Sen, Director, Regional Design Centre, who informed on June 13, 1967: In late 1959, for the purpose of training, Sambhu and Baikuntha were brought to the Design Centre by Sri Syamadas Sengupta*, Designer-Artist without the knowledge of the village people at night and a Government vehicle was used for speedy movement from Dariapur to Burdwan. They were then identified as Dokras. On seeing the Howrah Bridge, the continuously flowing cars and the people, the mass of buildings and the unending *pucca* roads they shivered. In the house of Sri G. Kumar, Designer-Artist, they were asked about the food they preferred. They mentioned *Luchi*. They were introduced in different sections of the Design Centre and the connoisseurs in Handicrafts to create in the artisan's mind a sense of dignity and confidence in their craftsmanship. When they were told about a payment of Rupees ten per day per head for reproduction of designs on metals in their methods, they confused it with a monthly payment first, but, just sat down on floor surprised when had known it really to be a daily rate. The artisans were shown the Museum, the Zoo, the Botanical gardens, the Udai Villa Womens' Co-operative in vocational crafts for about a month to have ideas of different figures. One of them then suggested that the form of a glass could be reproduced in hollow casting method. They gradually suggested about the forms of flower-vase, plates, big bowls and peacocks which they liked. Incidentally, these were commercial items, the forms of which, were not traditional. They were, however, never tutored to reproduce any given design. During the first six months, they reproduced 30 designs and cast forms of larger dimensions. The Design Centre pushed the products in Calcutta Exhibitions and introduced them to Bengal Home Industries and Handicrafts Development Corporation. After a number of artisans had by then been trained and they formed a Co-operative Society, it was necessary to raise the required capital, to maintain the flow of orders, to arrange the proper distribution of work to all the artisans and to organise the productions. It is assuring to observe that the artisan-members of Dariapur no longer shiver when in Calcutta and conveniently hire a taxi in Howrah Station for carrying the products to the Design Centre at Ballygunge and other Sales Centres according to arrangements. On September, 1967, when Baikuntha and Matar were asked in Calcutta Regional Design Centre as to whether they had any difficulty in coming to Calcutta separately and alone, they said, there was no trouble. Matar said, he took a No. 20 tram from Howrah bound for Ballygunge and dropped at Bondel Road junction. Baikuntha said, he took a ricksaw from Sealdah with wares and came straight to Centre at Ballly-gunge Circular Road. But, none of the two artisans could give any idea about the time taken in journey in terms of hours.

8.2. In meetings of the Co-operative Society, the artisan-members have been found in June and August, 1967 to be discussing freely with the Manager of Society particularly regarding payments of wages and advances. A few persons are more vocal and some others remain generally silent on other issues of the Society not directly involving them.

8.3. The few leading artisans have been seen paying respects to any outsider-visitor to their colony with folded hands and offering them chairs. The others would generally remain perfectly silent and keep a distance with heads below. When they would find that the discussion will not immediately concern them, they would leave.

THEIR FELLOW-FEELING

9.1. On August 21, 1967, in a special general meeting of the Society, a point was raised as to how the loan-dues of the deserters could be realised. The exact whereabouts were not known to the existing members, who pleaded that they could not help the Society in this respect. The reactions of the artisans almost changed when, casually, a Departmental Officer present suggested that the assistances of the Police could be sought for in locating the deserters and taking action for the realisation of dues. An artisan remarked that it would not perhaps be easier for even the police to find them out. Sanatan told that the police should not be informed as this might cause an extreme

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hardship to the wife and children of the deserters, if the head of the family will be imprisoned, who maintained them by soldering work. He assured that he could try in meeting his deserter-brother Balaram and getting back him the dues. Most of the artisans were against the suggestion of any FIR to Police. But as the habitual indebtedness of the deserters was a problem beyond immediate solution by persuation, the Secretary of the Society Sambhu, (the most solvent of all the artisans) concluded that, at least, a week-long imprisonment of one deserter will be very useful and, if necessary, money will be raised in the Colony to bear the family expenses of the victim. This incident reflected the inner mind of a Malar member to be aloof from the open Society with their habits of mobility and indebtedness and to maintain an unknown community amongst themselves, but, at the same time, the decision-making mind of a solvent craftsman-member as to how a poor and indebted neighbour should be tackled. The latter mind is not different from one of a settled villager with a fixed occupation.

9.2. I reproduce below the experience of Sri Basudev Roy Chowdhury, Extension Officer (Industries), who worked as an Executive Officer of the Society during 1-1-65—8-7-66 :

9.2.1. "After taking over the charges of the Society as an Executive Officer, it was brought to my notice that, the artisans were quite ignorant of co-operative ideas and most of them were fully dependent upon Government assistance in every respect, in securing orders, in manufacturing the items and in supplying the same and in making necessary arrangements of funds and raw materials and also in ensuring strict supervision to maintain the quality and delivery of the products. But keeping in close contact with them, I noticed that they were gradually feeling for each other and also realising the utility of their Society. In respect of the degree of participation in the meeting of the artisans, as far as I recollect, except four artisans, (Shri Sambhu Karmakar, Baikuntha Karmakar, Sanatan Karmakar and Budhu Karmakar) all others used to remain silent. It was also noticed that Shri Baikuntha Karmakar had also a broad mind to help the other artisan-members of the Co-operative Society. I should also mention here that Shri Sambhu Karmakar had also a feeling for the other artisans of the Society. But as I mixed with them very closely it came to my knowledge that, one of the master-craftsman, by virtue of his property and wealth acquired by his diligent habit and craftsmanship, used to exploit the others taking the advantage of their lazy habits as well as poor financial condition. I would like to point out that, as soon as I understood that, the internal exploitation by that artisan was also hampering the growth of the artisans, I checked it by adopting persuasive and vigilant steps there. It has also been observed that, he gave up his policy of exploiting the artisans at my request.

9.2.2 "On a certain day, when, I was returning at about 4 p.m. from tour under the jurisdiction of Mangalkot Block, I found Shri Rashamoy Karmakar along with his family at Balgona, who was an artisan-member of the Society and who had left the Society 8 months back. I also noticed that, they were lying at the side of the road under a tree in a very distressed condition with the children. I asked him why they had left Dariapur and were living in such a miserable condition. In reply, Shri Rashamoy Karmakar and his wife told that, they were afraid of Shri Sambhu Karmakar and other village mahajans and they also narrated many other things. I asked him to go back to the society, but, Shri Rashamoy Karmakar said that, Shri Sambhu Karmakar and others will not allow him to stay there for having broken some social bindings therein and the money which he had taken from Sambhu. At last, at my assurance, he accompanied me and after reaching Dariapur at 7 p.m. I called the artisans and requested them to allow Shri Rashamoy Karmakar to stay there and not to oppress Shri Rashamoy Karmakar and his family for breaking their social rules. I also requested Shri Sambhu Karmakar not to ask for money advanced to him, unless he stood on his own feet. All of them accepted them gladly ignoring the money as well as the violation of customs. At that very night, we advanced some money to Shri Rashamoy Karmakar for purchasing rice for their meals as well as for purchasing raw materials for manufacturing items. Here, Sambhu and the other artisans had sacrificed much and, for their sacrifice, it was possible for Rashamoy to repay all the loans and to construct his dwelling house even.

9.2.3. "Often I became annoyed with them for their selfish and lazy habits and I used to rebuke them in a very loud voice. But, one thing I remember that, they never disobeyed my instructions and I also used to forget everything just after such occasions. Here, it may be pointed out that, the artisans used to quarrel amongst themselves in minor affairs, which were also not in my presence.

9.2.4. "The construction of the Colony in 1966 was a very vital problem to the artisans. Firstly, as an Executive Officer of the Society, I tried to secure the vested land, but, all the efforts were in vain, because, the vested land in quested was

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in dispute. Hence, it was decided in a meeting of the Co-operative Society to make an attempt to secure the land from the local people. Then, with the help of the Manager of the Society, I managed to purchase the land from one Shri Balai Goswami, a gentleman of the locality, at a very reasonable rate. The land was purchased in the name of the Society and the plots were distributed to the artisans. I took special care to see that, the artisans did not pass their time in idleness. In manufacturing the goods, the Society used to advance raw materials some times and also cash for purchase of materials and daily necessities but, in no cases, the advance had exceeded their wages. It was in my mind to save something from every artisans from their wages. At the end of the year, it was found that, every artisan would get an amount approximately Rs. 800.00 from the Society for their products which they had supplied to the Society in course of one year and, out of these savings, I took steps to construct their dwelling houses. The artisans also worked for their dwelling houses themselves. In this way, after keeping constant supervision throughout the day and night and with the help of the artisans, the dwelling houses were constructed.

9.2.5. "After the Colony was built in and the artisans shifted there, they faced the water-seepage problem. A contour-survey was made according to the instructions of the Assistant Engineer (Irrigation), Burdwan, the Sub-Assistant Engineer of the Ausgram-I Block and a local Overseer of Dariapur village. I started the work by taking the help of the artisans as well as engaging local labourers for digging up the drains on the three sides of the Colony, so that, the seepage water could go outside the Colony through the drains. As the work was very urgent I started the work with the funds of the Society and, later on, a test relief Scheme was placed before the Anchalik Parishad for sanctioning a lump-sum grant to save this Colony from water seepage and most probably, the Anchalik Parishad sanctioned a sum of Rs. 200.00 only for this purpose and we completed the work with about Rs. 400.00. Earth filling inside and outside of the dwelling houses and other work were done by the artisans themselves. The drains could not be made according to the specification of the Engineer due to heavy rains. The Deputy Director of Industries (CDP), and the District Industrial Officer, Burdwan visited the spot and I worked as per their instruction and guidance. The problem of water seepage was solved in this way.

9.2.6. "During my tenure of service there, it was observed that Sri Sambhu Karmakar and Baikuntha Karmakar used to work more hard than the other artisans and their craftsmanship were also much better. Due to better craftsmanship and financial position, their leadership was accepted. But I tried to make them understand that all the artisans were equal and all would get the same facilities from the Society and, for that reason also, all tried to work more sincerely and efficiently. Another reason for their accepting the leadership of Sambhu Karmakar was that, Sambhu's father first came at Dariapur and, afterwards, Sambhu and his father brought other artisans there. The inherited wealth of Sambhu was also another reason for easy acceptance of his leadership and Sambhu could help them with money in needs. Similarly, Baikuntha had a mind to help other artisan, but, as he could not help the artisans by giving funds in time his leadership was not so noticeable, though it was popular.

9.2.7. "The artisans fall in indebtedness when the payments of their finished products were delayed. The other reasons were the need for money for social functions and drinking habits ; their laziness and indifference also prompted them to borrow money at high rates of interest.

9.2.8. "All the artisans required constant watch and guidance in work. I found that if even Sambhu and Baikuntha were not properly watched, the quality of their work also deteriorated.

9.2.9. "When they were at home, they used to pass their time by gossiping amongst themselves regarding their social and family life and sometimes, they used to waste away time by sleeping even in the morning. In the evening, almost all of them used to drink and make some enjoyment by singing songs which were of their own. Outside their community, they were very meak and polite".

9.2.10. "In hard days of August, 1967, when there were less payments to the members for inadequate jobs and rice was selling at Rs. 2·50—3.00 per kilogramme in local shops and was not openly available also, Rasana, the young artisan, was continuously being pressed by his mother for food ; he failed to procure anything and, out of despair, ate the poisonous leaves of a creeper and become unconscious. It was then Sambhu, the master-craftsman of the community and his step-brother, who came forward, took him to the village doctor and had to spend Rs. 72.00 for his recovery."

9.3. Also there remain unattached women in the community. In 1964 November, it was ascertained that the widow Lalita and her two daughters Gouri and Ulangini used to beg. Similarly, Lakshmi used to beg. In September, 1967, it is understood that, Gouri and Ulangini have left the village and Lalita begs. Lakshmi has been a maid servant. It was understood that Genu, who was a widow of a person of Ranisayar, and again married to Dharani of Dariapur, also since dead, has left the village with some one else.

BUT THEY ARE NOT ON HINDU CASTE HIERARCHY—AN OUTCASTE COMMUNITY

10.1. Malars are not on the local caste hierarchy of Hindus. But the Malars have been trying to have a social recognition as a distinct craftsmen community as Karmakars by paying respects to the Brahmins and other influencial persons of the village. In 1962 and 1963, Sambhu spent Rs. 160.00 on two occasions on the death of his father and the marriage of his brother, for entertaining the Brahmins and a few family members of Mondal, Karmakar, Roy and others in the courtyards of an influential Brahmin and a Roy of Dariapur. In both the cases, the Brahmins cooked and served. Amongst 30 Brahmins invited, 5 did not visit in 1962. The gods and goddesses locally worshipped by the Dariapur villagers other than the Malars are the *Durga*, the *Kali*, the *Saraswati*, the *Lakshmi*, the *Annapurna*, the *Viswakarma*, the *Mangalchandi*, the *Nilkantha*, the *Gopal* and the *Gobinda*. The months of worship are *Aswin*, *Kartika*, *Magh*, *Agrahayana*, *Bhadra* and *Chaitra*. The *Lakshmi* and the *Saraswati* are worshipped as *Sarbajanin* (community management) also. The Brahmins, (Chakrovarty, Adhikari, Chattopadhyaya, Gossain) and a few families of the Roys and Mondals are the worshipper-families. The *Viswakarma* is worshipped by the Karmakar families. The members of the Malar families attend the above religious functions on occasional call and sit in the last series of visitors in the outer margins of open space.

SIDELIGHTS OF THEIR EARLIER HOMES IN GHATAKPUKUR SITE AT DARIAPUR

11. Photographs placed separately will present a few shades of their home-life relevant to the Ghatakpukur site in Dariapur where they lived from 1942-66.

6

SIMILAR ARTISANS ELSEWHERE

- Rampur Community (Bankura)
  - Introduction
  - Particulars of artisan's families
  - Earlier settlements of the community
  - Deserters and new entrants
  - Identification
  - Sub-groups in the community
  - Divorce, remarriage and widow marriage
  - The tradition of the craft, items of production and tools
  - The cooperative society of artisans
  - Family customs and festivals
  - Living conditions
- Netkamla community (Bankura)
  - The Mal families of Netkamla
  - Way of life of Netkamla artisans
  - Items of production of Netkamla
  - Distinctive features in production of Netkamla
- Bindajam community (Bankura)
  - The Sekra families of Bindajam
- Common features for Netkamla and Bindajam communities
  - Attendance in local fairs
  - Requirement of metal
  - Sales price of productions
- The groups in Midnapore District
  - The village of Adharkuly is now deserted
  - The "Lag" (Malar) artisans in village Belia
  - The Karmakar (Malar) artisans in village Amda
  - The Nayek (Malar) artisans of Kharagpur have abandoned craftwork
- The other small groups in Burdwan District
  - The Eklakshmi and Guskara families
- The group in Nachansa (Birbhum)
  - The two Malar families
- The groups in Purulia District
  - The groups in Kenda, Pabrapahari, Kulbahal, Nadiha and Ankro

BANKURA DISTRICT

Rampur community	Basic data obtained by Shri P. Das, District-level Extension Officer (Industries), Bankura
Bindajam community	Ditto.
Netkamla community	Ditto.

BURDWAN DISTRICT

Eklakshmi community	Basic data obtained by Shri N. Guha, District-level Extension Officer (Industries), Burdwan.

BIRBHUM DISTRICT

Nachansa community	Basic data obtained by Shri S. Chatterjee, District-level Extension Officer (Industries), Birbhum

MIDNAPORE DISTRICT

Belia community	Basic data obtained by Shri S. Pal, District-level Extension Officer (Industries), Midnapore
Amda community	Basic data obtained by Extenssion Officer (Industries), Keshiary and the author
Kharagpur community	Basic data obtained by Shri S. Sen, Extension Officer (Industries), Kharagpur-I

PURULIA DISTRICT

Kenda, Pabrapahari, Kulbahal, Nadiha and Ankro community	Initial data by Shri S. Dey, Field Organiser, Handi-crafts, Detailed verification and further information by Shri J. Sarkar, District-level Extension Officer (Industries), Purulia

6

SIMILAR ARTISANS ELSEWHERE

1. The remaining artisans' groups other than one at Dariapur (Burdwan) are discussed here incidental to the intensive study. The groups at Belia, Amda Netkamla, Bindajam, Nadiha, Ankro, Pabrapahari, Kulbahal and Kenda are for the first time officially presented in this Report. The information obtained are not exhaustive in any sense, but, are intended for first material for any subsequent studies.

2. The Karmakar group at Rampur (Bankura).

2.1 Particulars of Family Units :

TABLE

Name of head of family	Age	Number of members in family		Total
		Adult	Minor	
1 Sri Dhanu Karmakar	60	2	..	2
2 ,, Rajendra ,,	65	3	..	3
3 ,, Naba ,,	43	2	4	6
4 ,, Upendra ,,	45	2	7	9
5 ,, Babua ,,	30	2	5	7
6 ,, Raju ,,	40	2	4	6
7 ,, Sambhu ,,	32	2		4
8 ,, Jabara ,,	31	2	2	4
9 ,, Jugal ,,	41	2	3	5

2.2 (i) Dhanu Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Kshiroda Karmakar

Sons—Babua, lives independently

Daughters—(*a*) Lakshmibala, married to Raju Karmakar of Rampur

(*b*) Bilasi, married to Sambhu Karmakar of Rampur

(ii) Rajendra Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Matidasi Karmakar

Son—Gunamoy, (30), works as a day labour and seldom as an artisan

Daughters—(*a*) Bela, married to Bejoy of Belia in Kharagpur P.S. (*b*) Ani, married to Kamal Karmakar of Patrasayar (Bankura), who works as a Bargadar/day labour and does soldering jobs

(iii) Naba Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Sumitra Karmakar

Sons—Jharu (14), Netai and Gour (twins), (12), Bocha (6)

Daughter—Sarala, married to Netai, Vill. and P.O. Negun (Burdwan), who does repair work on torch, petromax, stove etc.

(iv) Upendra Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Gunadhi Karmakar

Sons—Naru (15), Bhikhu (11), Kesto (8), Radha (6)

Daughters—(*a*) Uttara, married to Kartik of Patrasayar (Bankura) (*b*) Bimala (17), Bina (13), Lichubala (1½)

(v) Babua Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Paribala Karmakar

Sons—Mantu (18), Ganesh (10), Sukhamoy (8)

Daughters—(*a*) Tulsi, married to Balaram Karmakar of Dariapur (Burdwan) (*b*) Dasi (14), Mangla (6), Giti (2)

(vi) Raju Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Lakshmi Karmakar

Sons—Jodhapati (15), Satya (8)

Daughters—(*a*) Puspa (27), married to Kanak Karmakar of Rampur, who is engaged in soldering work (*b*) Bali (13), Sourovi (10)

(vii) Sambhu Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Bilashi Karmakar

Sons—Dhiren (10), Madha (8)

(viii) Jabra Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Arati Karmakar

Son—Amar (7)

Daughter—Jyotsna (5)

(ix) Jugal Karmakar :

Wife—Sm. Pramila Karmakar

Sons—Chamu (13) Budhu (3)

Daughters—(*a*) Kurani, married to Mantu Karmakar of Vill. Negun (Burdwan), who works as a peon in a school

(x) Sm. Charubala Karmakar. Widow of Late, Nakul Karmakar

Sons—Sankar (10), Narayan (4), Abalakanta (2)

Daughters—Sani (13), Sandhya (8), Batasi (6)

2.3 The members of the settlement are connected by marriage relations with Dariapur (Burdwan), Amda (Midnapore), Belia (Midnapore), Kultikuri (Midnapore), Negun (Burdwan), Patrasayar (Bankura) and Baharagura (Singhbhum-Behar)

3.1 According to Rajendra, the oldest artisan of Rampur, the parents of the present settlers including himself used to live in Madhuban-Chakdaha near Bishnupur (a subdivisional town in Bankura district).

3.2 The following artisans were in Bishnupur :

(1) Late Natabar, father of Dhanu
(2) ,, Charan ,, ,, Naba
(3) ,, Hari ,, ,, Jugal
(4) ,, Satrughna, no descendent
(5) ,, Ananda ,, ,,
(6) ,, Pada ,, ,,
(7) ,, Mahindir, father of Sambhu and Jabara
(8) ,, Judhisthir father of Anil and Phanil (now residing at Eklakshmi in Burdwan district)
(9) Sri Rajendra (living)

3.3 They had possessed there some land under settlement with Gopal Sing, the then king of Bishnupur. They used to cultivate also on *Barga*.

3.4 For reasons not known, these artisans left Chakdaha and shifted for living in Gopalpur by the side of Kalindi embankment, which is very near to Bishnupur.

3.5 Sometime during the second World War, all the Units shifted from Kalindi site to Rampur (Bankura proper) and it was to save the honour of the womenfolk from the army personnel (*Gora*), as they were all alone in huts when the male persons were out from village to village in day-time.

DESERTERS AND NEW ENTRANTS AT RAMPUR

4.1 About 12 years back, after the death of Judhisthir, his sons, Anil and Phanil left for Eklakshmi (Burdwan).

4.2 Ketu and Abadhut came from village Amda

(P.S. Keshiary, Dist. Midnapore) to Rampur sometime back to settle but have left three years back.

4.3 Upendra and his uncle Raju have settled in Rampur having left village Andharkuli near Kharagpur (Midnapore). They have married in Rampur.

4.4 Kanak has come from Eklakshmi (Burdwan) and is the son-in-law of Bhanu. He is not engaged, however, in the craft, but earns from soldering jobs and day-labour. His uncle Budhu is in Dariapur (Burdwan).

5. The Rampur artisans and the local people have not heard of the word *Dheppo,* a word reported to indicate the migratory character of such metal-craftsmen. They do not either recognise them as belonging to "Kainkuya" branch of Mal caste, which is regarded as an inferior caste and they do not have any exchange by marriage or *jalchal* with artisans of that caste. They do not recognise them as Malars, but only as Karmakars, the reasons being explained in Para 12.7 of Preface.

6. The artisan-members can be grouped under five *Gosthis*—Domar, Charbondi, Bantha, Kuliar and Mahanta. The following are the artisans under different *Gosthis* :

Gosthi	Artisans
(i) Domar	Dhanu, Sambhu, Naba, Babua, Jugal, Jabara
(ii) Chorbandi	Rajendra
(iii) Bantha	Upendra
(iv) Kuliar	Kanak
(v) Mahanta	No male member is there. But, Sm. Sumitra, wife of Naba, is a daughter of this Group. Her father late Natabar was in village Dhana Amda in P. S. Keshiari of district Midnapore.

7. The functions of the members under each *Gosthi* are :

(i) Domar—They are also known as *Bhanrare Gosthi i.e.,* they are responsible of the kitchen and store of a festival. They supervise cooking. With their clearance, *Bhoj, i.e.,* the community feast will commence. The head of the family organising the feast will invite with respects the Domar *Pradhan* and will offer a new cloth and a napkin, who will perform his function wearing them.

(ii) Chorbandi—They will serve the invited persons in a *Bhojbari, i.e.,* the place where the feast holds, distribute water and, on the completion of feast, clear up the place.

(iii) Bantha—They will collect *Kul, Tel, Halud* and all miscellaneous articles necessary for any religious function.

(iv) Kuliar—The head of this *Gosthi* is the judge of the whole community and will issue judgement on social cases and the punishment or fine inflicted by him is binding.

(v) Mahanta—They have to work as a *Chowkidar,* though, the functions do not include watch during night. They are responsible for calls of persons, bringing victims in person for trials, obtaining miscellaneous information, despatching some information to any one of the community residing in other villages an inviting persons etc.

DIVORCE REMARRIAGE AND WIDOW-MARRIAGE

8.1 Jugal has married thrice. The first wife is dead. The second wife was divorced and she left Rampur with her son. He is now living with his third wife Pramila.

8.2 Similarly, Upendra's first wife is dead. The second wife, having been divorced, is staying at village Dhana Amda in P.S. Keshiary (Midnapore) with her two daughters with Chaitan, her son-in-law, who is son of Ram.

8.3 Champa, the sister-in-law of Nakul and the daughter of late Natabar of village Dhana Amda, P. S. Keshiary was married in village Negun (Midnapore) with Bideshi. She came out. She was remarried to Bhiku of village Dariapur, (Burdwan). That marriage bond also did not continue. Now she is living alone in Rampur. Attempts are being made of her remarriage.

8.4 Beli, the daughter of Raju was first married to Nalini of village Patrasayer in Bankura district. After his death, the widow was married again to Bejoy of a village near Kharagpur (Midnapore).

THE TRADITION OF THE CRAFT

9.1 The artisans make the beautifully shaped and artistically decorated metal using a primitive complicated lost-wax hollow casting process. Photo Plates will show a few stages of production.

9.2 Formerly, they used to move round the villages and set up their simple workshop under a tree where ever they found a demand for their work. Demand was regular as all housewives required various kinds of metal-bowls, and accessories for worship as any couple setting up a new home with a new *Hensel* (kitchen) had to buy the image of *Laxmi-Narayan* and other items of worship from the artisans.

9.3 In recent times, in view of the changed religious practices and modern ways of living, the artisans have largely lost their traditional market for their products for ritual and ceremonial use and gradually reached the verge of annihilation. In the above context, the craftsmen who were still struggling very hard for their existence at Bankura, have been organised to form a Cooperative for their rehabilitation and economic settlement.

ITEMS OF PRODUCTION

10. Previously, the craftsmen used to make images of god, goddess, animal and birds for ritual and ceremonial use by the rural women in particular. But, in recent times, some changes in the motif have been brought to suit the modern taste and requirement of the buyers. For example, fish, a traditional item, has been converted for use as a nice ashtray. The rice-measuring bowls of different sizes with slight variations in the design have been converted into beautiful ashtrays and flower vases. A candle stand on the head of a traditional figure of creative excellence, has been found to be of great demand in modern homes. The articles were generally of the height two inches to nine and the sale-price of figures per piece varied between 0·56 and Rs. 1·87 in 1964-65.

ITEMS OF TOOLS AND EQUIPMENT USED

11. The craftsmen continue to use very simple tools and equipment. The tools are mainly knife, iron tongs, wire hooks, file, hammer, chisel and bamboo splints.

ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

12. A Cooperative Society with the artisans of Bankura was formed towards the end of 1965. But the actual activities commenced in the early part of the year 1966. Since the artisans are practically illiterate and unable to conduct the day-to-day work, the Extension Officer (Industries), Bankura headquarter has been assigned to run the Society as the Secretary under the direct guidance of the District Industrial Officer, Bankura, Government assistances in the shape of working capital has been made available to the Society. With the technical guidance from the Regional Design Centre of All India Handicrafts Board and the direct supervision of the District Industrial Officer, Bankura, the Society has gone a long way to free the craftsmen from exploitation of *Mahajans* and money lenders. There was practically no local market of their products. But the Society has now been earning foreign exchange through the Handloom and Handicrafts Export Corporation of India. The West Bengal Small Industries Corporation, West Bengal Government Sales Emporium and some important Handicrafts dealers have also been helping the Society with orders, Sri Parimal Das's [District Level Extension Officer (Industries)] role in vitalising the Society is worth recording here. The case taken by Sri S. Roy Chowdhury, District Industrial Officer, will also be remembered by the artisans.

FAMILY CUSTOMS AND FESTIVALS

13·1 A male adult generally marries between the age 21 and 25 with the counterpart of the age between 16 and 20. As soon as he marries, he lives separately from the parents and earns a living in his profession. Marriage ceremony is very simple. The priest is not a must in the function. Any senior member of the Society or even the *Pramanick* (barber) can act as a *Purohit* (priest). The bride and the groom are called upon to sit together when the bride puts *Sindoor* on the forehead of the groom and thus marriage is performed. Next, the couple are to remain together in the same thatched house and none is allowed to come out during the night. A strict watch is kept by the members of the society to that effect. Divorce, remarriage and widow-marriage are allowed.

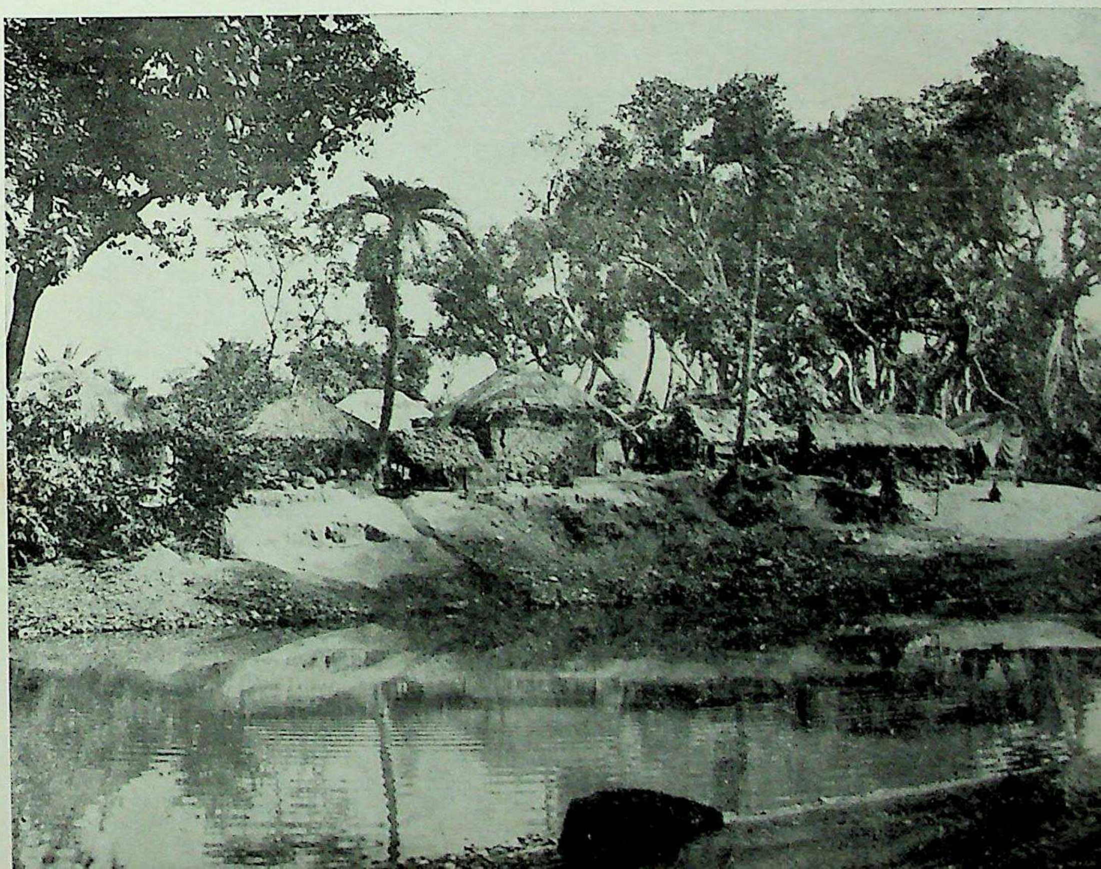
13.2 Child-birth is usually performed by an expert elderly woman of the society or of "Dom" community. The dead body is generally cremated and *Sradh* ceremony is performed after 10/15 or 30 days according to convenience.

13.3 Their festivals are *Biswakarma Puja*, *Manasha Puja* and *Harisankirtan* and the members also take part in all the important Hindu festivals.

13.4 They believe in *Bhoot* (ghost) and the effect of evil spirits on health.

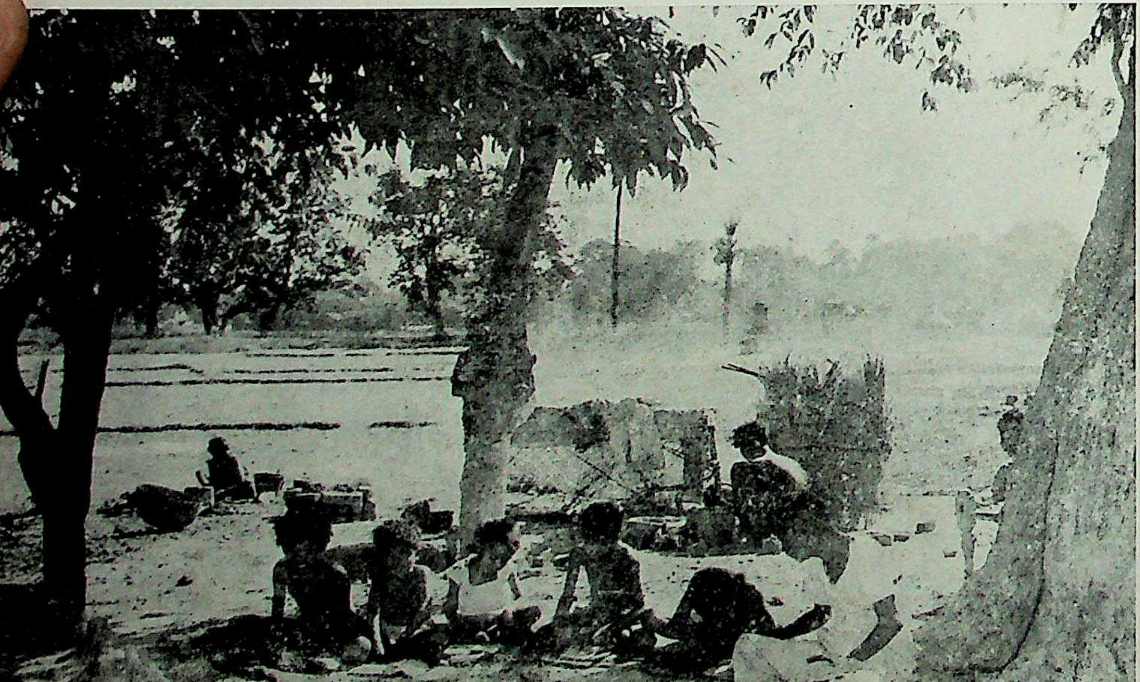
STANDARD OF LIVING, THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES AND LIMITATIONS IN THE EXPANSION OF THE INDUSTRY

14.1 These artisans of Bankura are extremely poor having no other source of income excepting the craft. They are landless. They live in the border of the Bankura town near the Municipal dumping ground adjacent to two liquor (*Tari*) shops in the den-like thatched houses having mud-walls of not more than five feet height with free access of the sun-rays and rains. Prior to the organisation of the Cooperative, they could hardly earn their daily food. Starvation and half-starvation was a

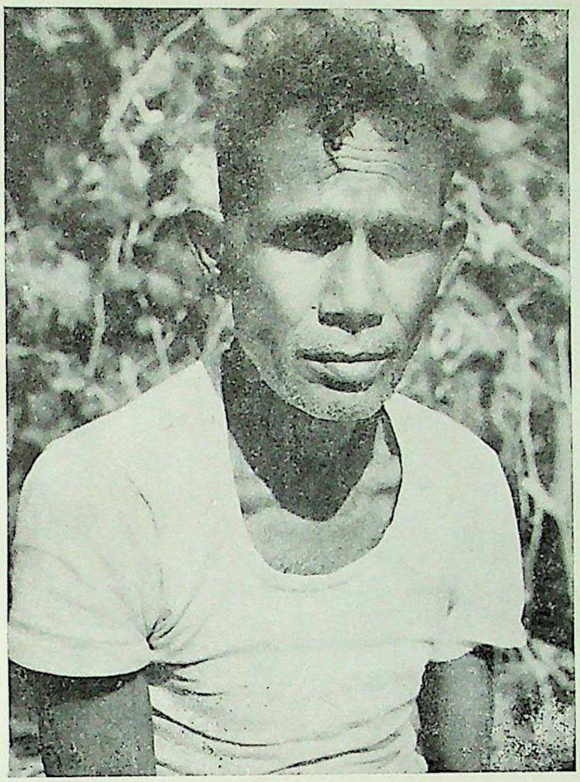


Colony of the artisans by the side of a pond in the vicinity of Bankura Town.

The children of the Rampur Colony are seen sitting in front of the cottage of Sri Sambhu Karmakar.

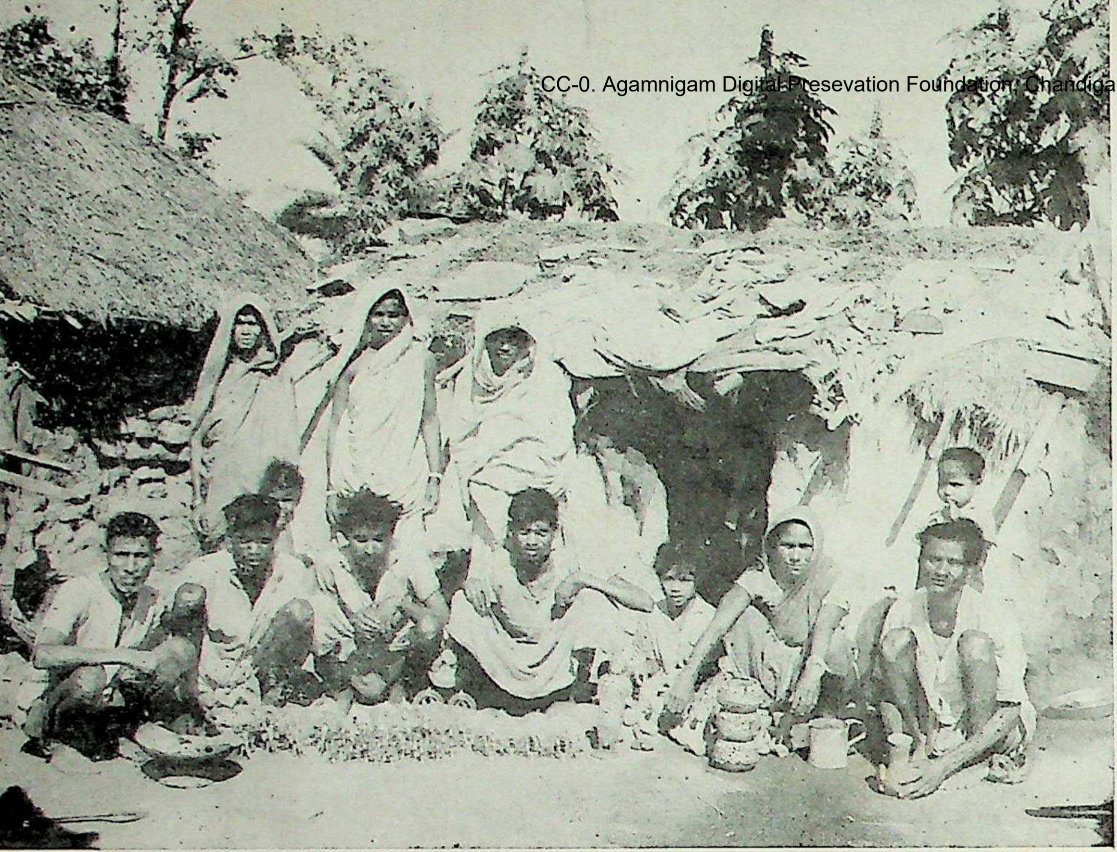


Sri Golak Behari Das, an invalid person teaches the artisan's children.



Sri Upendra Karmakar—
a master craftsmen of Rampur.

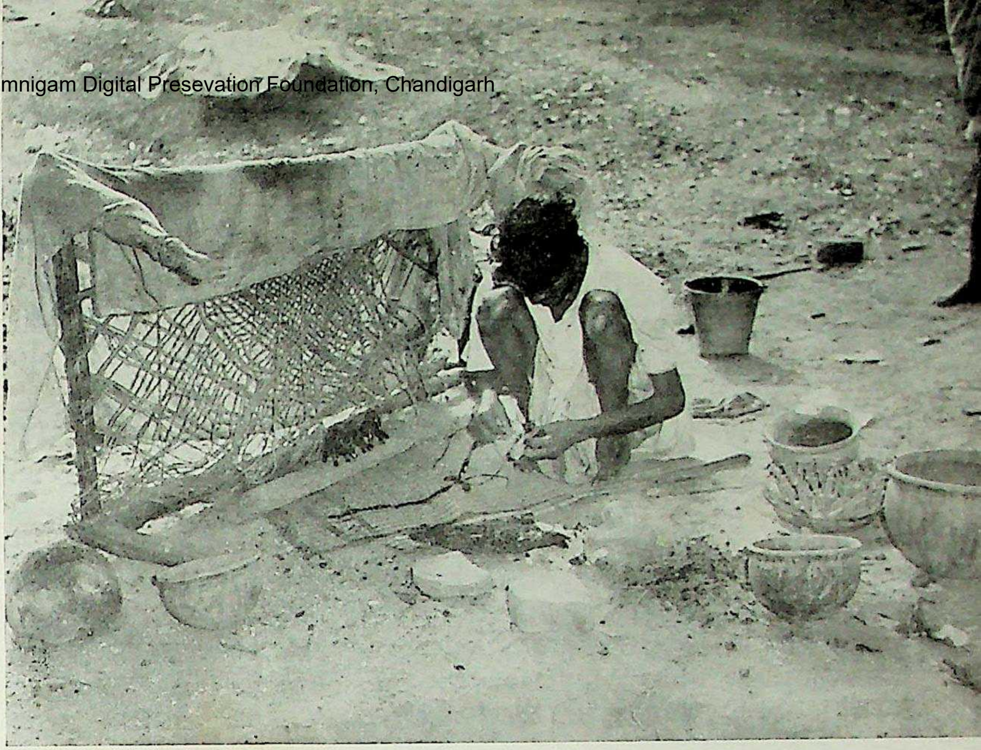
Sri Upendra Karmakar with his
family members.



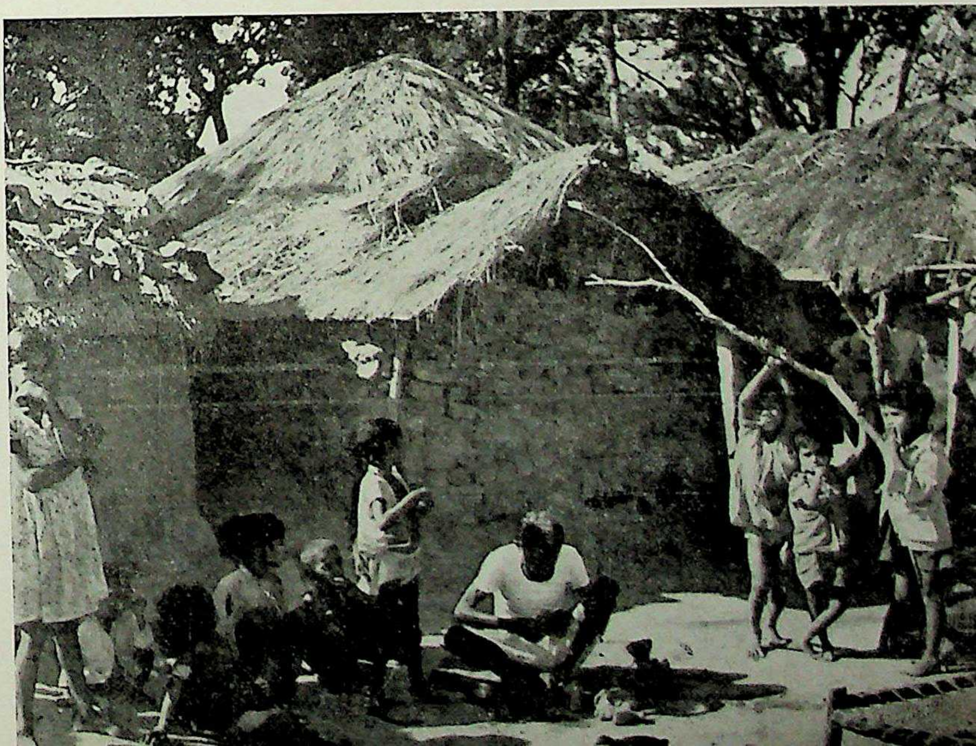
In front of the cottage
of Sri Gunamoy Karmakar
are seen the sample products.

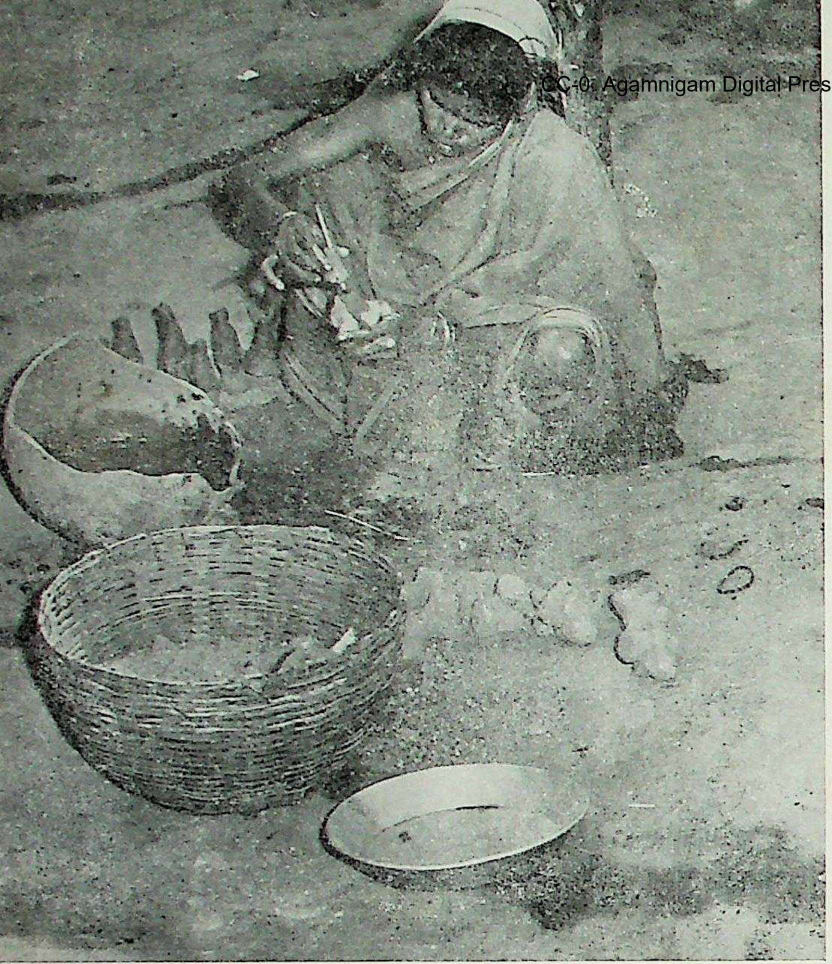
Place of worship of the Rampur
artisans under the *Akar* and *Bat* trees
with terracotta horses, elephants
and *Manasha jhars*.

Sri Babua Karmakar is working on the core of an elephant.

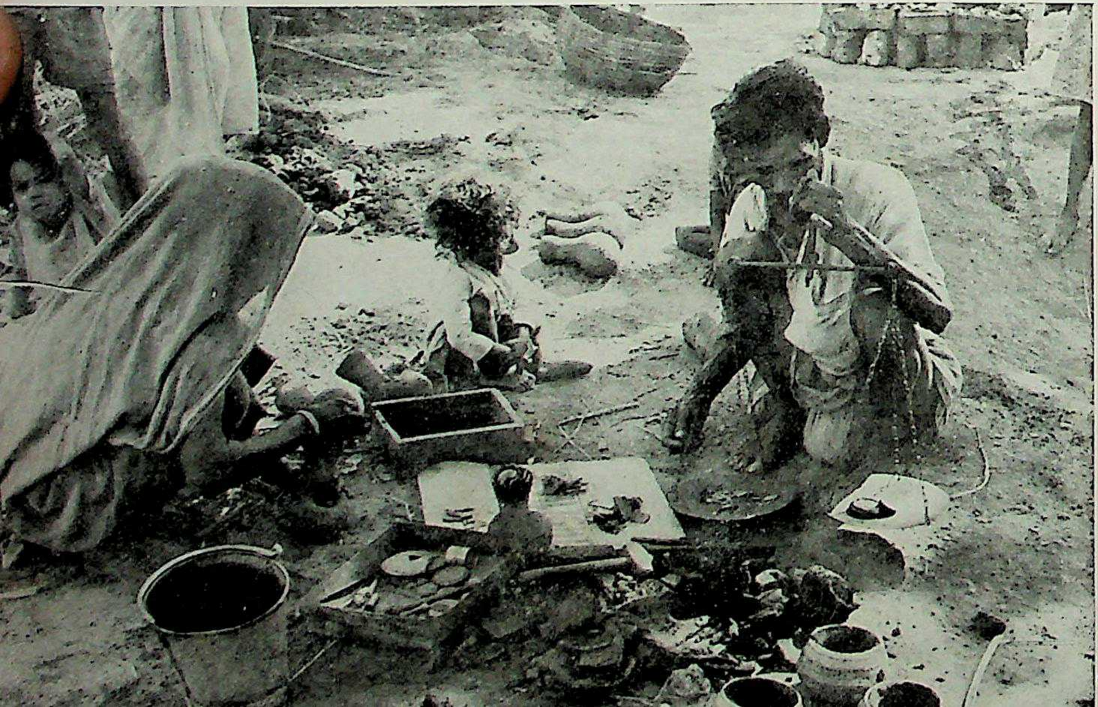


Sri Upendra Karmakar is working while the children are all around.



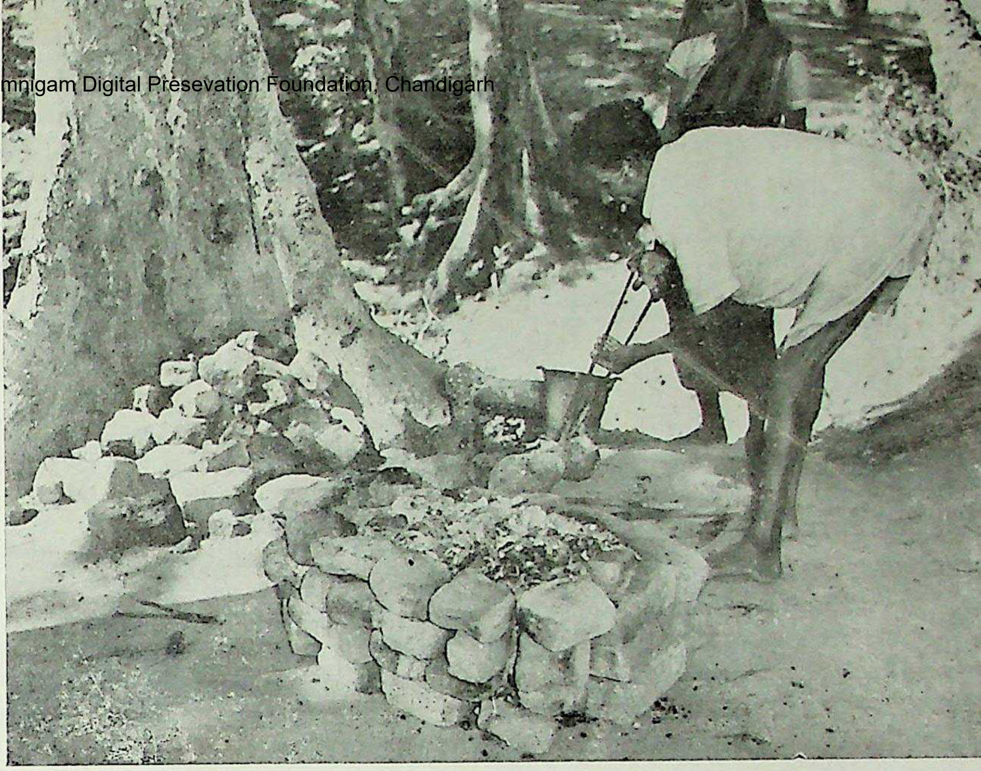


Sm. Arati Karmakar, wife of Sri Jabra Karmakar, is preparing the inlet between the core and the crucible.

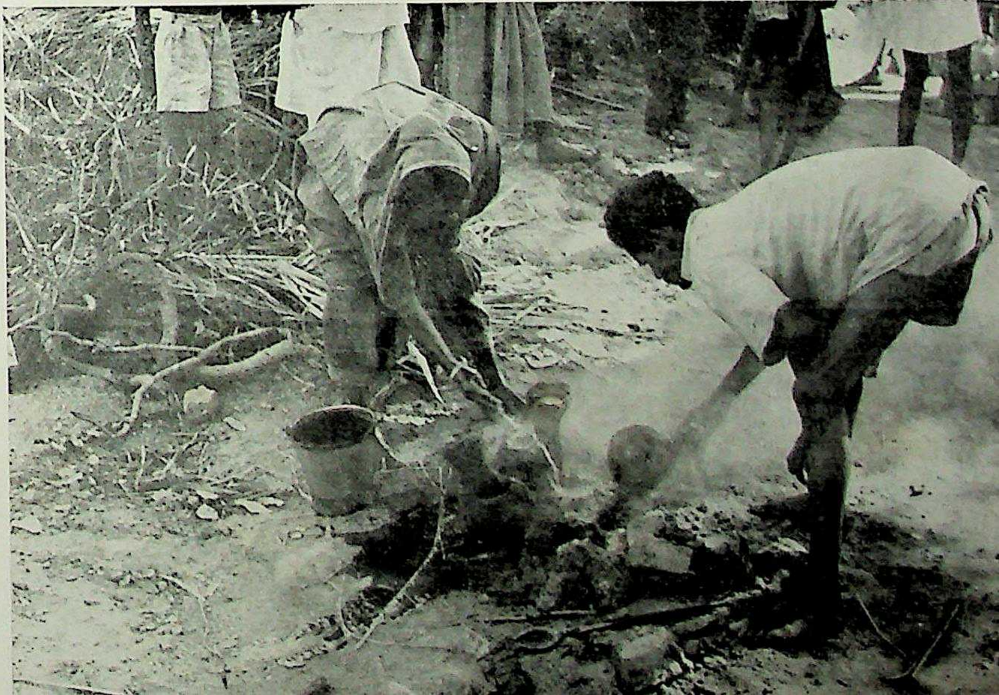


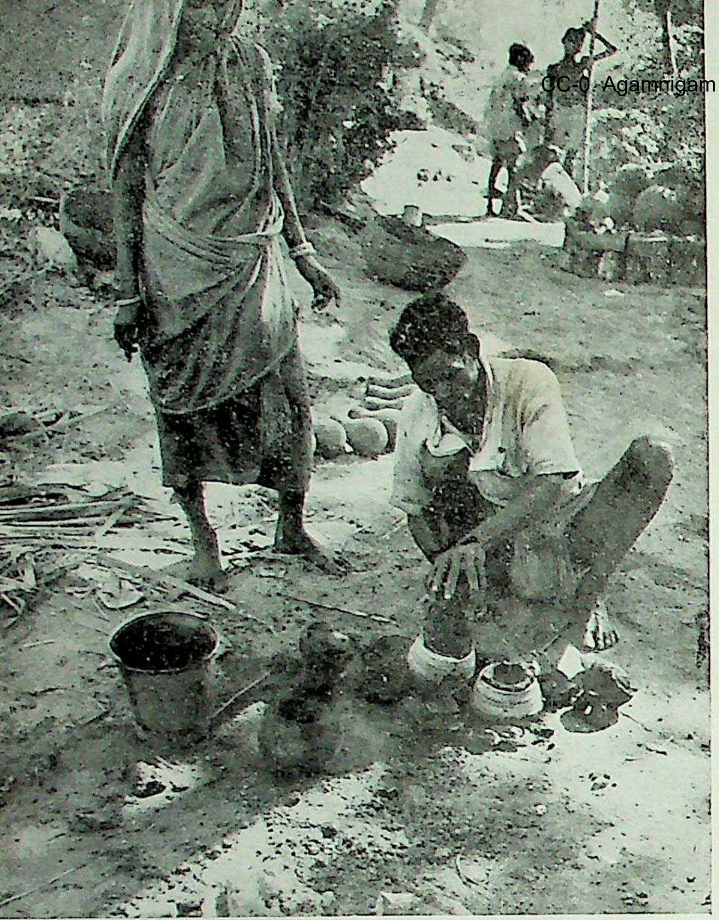
Sri Naba Karmakar is weighing *Pitar* after the moulds with the crucibles fixed have been dried.

Sri Naba Karmakar brings out the moulds after firing.



Sri Naba Karmakar and his wife sprinkle cold water on the fired mould-*cum*-crucible.





Sri Naba Karmakar breaks the mould to bring out the cast form from the fired clay cover.

Sri Jugal Karmakar takes his meal after work in the open working space.

common feature. Now, they can, however, earn regularly from Rs. 4·00 to Rs. 7·00 per working day. But, in these hard days, they can hardly save anything for the future or for construction of houses. Unless the craftsmen are removed from the present undesirable atmosphere and rehabilitated in a suitable site with proper housing and other amenities, proper development of the craft and the craftsmen is not possible. With the effective Government assistance in this regard, the craftsmen in the Co-operative Society will be able to complete a Scheme of Community housing in near future. (The colony has been completed in 1968.)

14.2 Inspite of their having sufficient socio-economic characteristics of a backward caste and tribe, the artisans are not considered by the Government either as a scheduled caste or a scheduled tribe and, as such, they are not entitled to have liberal economic State assistance for improvement of their living. Government should come forward to probe into the socio-economic life of this decategorised community and save this beautiful folk metal craft and the creative craftsmen from complete ruination.

14.3 Photo-Plates will suggest the present living conditions of families.

THE MAL-GROUP OF NETKAMLA (BANKURA)

15.1 At the village of Netkamla (J. L. No. 156) in Saltora Block, in the immediate vicinity of Susunia hills, there are five artisans' families. These are adjacent to Santhalpara. The names of artisans are : Sri Mariram Mal, headman; Sanatan Mal; Sankar Mal; Matilal Mal; Bhairab Mal. To the local people, they are known as *Sekra Kamar* (brass metal smith). Matilal is a leper but is known as a master-craftsman. Mariram and Sanatan were cousin brothers in mothers' side of Matilal. Sankar is the son of Matilal. Bhairab is the nephew of Matilal.

15.2 The particulars of children of families are

1 Mariram Sekra (Mal) :
Son : Laal 16 years
Bablu 3 ,,
Daughter : Bayee 10 ,,

2 Sanatan Sekra (Mal) :
S/o. Late Ram Sekra (Mal)
Son : Madan 8 ,,
Daughter : Muri 2 ,,

3 Sankar Sekra (Mal) :
Daughter : Kalyani 1 year

4 Matilal Sekra (Mal) :
S/o. Late Babulal Sekra (Mal)
Sons : Gagu 15 years
Rabi 12 ,,

5 Bhairab Sekra (Mal) :
S/o. Sri Moriram Sekra (Mal)
Daughters : Sundari 3 year
Khuki 5 months

15.3 Their social traits reveal the adoption of both Hindu and Muslim religions. The dead bodies are buried. The male persons are subject to circumcision. In social festivals, the goat, sheep, but not the cows are slaughtered. They take, however, the sacrificed and slaughtered animals other than the cows, tortoise and pigs. They worship the goddesses *Kali* and *Manasha* and the god *Viswakarma*. The most significant religious occasion is *Manasha Puja* held in *Sravana Sankranti*. They do not (have no right either) attend the mosque or a temple. They worship in their own way. They are not accustomed with the Muslim *Nemaj* or *Roza*. They are not married to Muslim families. They have marital connections in Bindajam—a village in Chhatna (Bankura), Purulia, Pabra, Kulbahal in Purulia, Adra, Jharia, Chakulia. Neither a Brahmin nor a Moulovi is called in a marriage ceremony. They themselves perform all the jobs in a marriage. The bride takes the vermillion and the iron wristlet (*Noa*) but does not use the conch-bangle (*Saankha*), a must item for a Hindu bride. There is a system of widow-remarriage, There is also no bar for a married person to marry a second wife when the first one is alive.

15.4 An old man of the village reported that these artisans were permanent settlers. They were producing measuring bowls (*Pai, Kona*), anklet (*Ghunur*) and foot-bangles (*Mal*), but not images. The Santhal people prefer *Mal* and *Ghunur* very much and use them in festivals like *Bandhna*.

15.5 As distinct from Rampur artisans, they use pure wax and mix six big sticks with one *Seer* resin and three-fourth *Seer* oil, the final compound being enough for casting of 10-12 *Seer* of metals. The compound wax is turned into threads of different thickness when first retained in a sheet-metal container (*Chungi*) fitted with a bamboo handle and then pressed through holes of a strainer (*Formas*) fixed in the opening of the container by pressures from top, the aid being wooden legs (*Taradang*). These artisans, as distinct from Rampur and Dariapur artisans, use permanent ovens set to walls of about two feet height. They also do not use any opening in the crucible before putting in the whole thing in fire.

THE SEKRA GROUP AT BINDAJAM (BANKURA)

16.1 In the village of Bindajam in J. L. No. 157 in P.S. Chhatna, located three miles away from Jhantipahari Railway Station in North-West direction, there are eight artisans' families. They are : (i) Alijan Sekra, son of late Suchand ; (ii) Fadul Sekra, son of late Kesab ; (iii) Banku Sekra, son of late Rahan ; (iv) Kalipada Sekra, son of late Bhramar ; (v) Sukulchand Sekra, son of late Mati ; (vi) Sambhu Sekra, son of late Kesab ; (vii) Niamet Sekra, son of late Kesab and, (viii) Mahadev Sekra (whose father's name could not be obtained).

16.2 Of the above artisans, Fadul and Sukulchand are not practicing artisans at present. Mahadev has left the village ; Kalipada is doing soldering work. Niamet begs from village to village with the "Dali" (seat) of the Hindu goddess of mother *Sitala*. Hence, the practising artisans are Sambhu, Banku and Alijan, of whom, the first one is a master-craftsman.

16.3 The particulars of children of families are :

Name of artisan with father's name		Name of dependent children	
1 Sri Sambhu Sekra S/o. Lt. Keshab Sekra, Bindajam	Sons :	Gati	10 years
		Mahadev	8 ,,
		Sudhir	6 ,,
		Kala	1 year
	Daughters :	Bilasi	7 years
		Lakshmi	4 ,,
2 Sri Banku Sekra S/o. Late Rajan Sekra	Son :	Nil	
	Daughter ,	Nil	
3 Alijan Sekra S/o. Suchand Sekra	Son :	Nil	
	Daughter :	Nil	

17.1 The Bindajam and Netkamla artisans attend the following local fairs :

(1) *Boro* or *Jaichandi Mela* held on the 30th day of *Paus* and the 1st day of *Magh* at Boro near Jai Chandi Railway Station (S. E. Rly.) in the district of Purulia.

(2) *Siva-Gajan Mela* at Ketankiri in the district of Purulia held on the 12th day of *Baisakh*.

(3) *Siva-Gajan Mela* at Kenjakura in the district of Bankura held on the 3rd day of *Baisakh*.

(4) *Chhatna Mela* near Basuli temple at Chhatna in the district of Bankura held on the 30th day of *Baisakh*.

(5) *Dharar Mela* at Pahar Susunia in the district of Bankura held on New Moon day in the month of *Chaitra*. This is also called *Narasingher Parab*.

(6) *Moukura Mela* in the district of Purulia held on the occasion of *Dharam Raj Puja* on the Full Moon day in the month of *Baisakh*.

17.2 The requirements of brass metal per item in these two places are :

Item					Requirement of metal (approx.)
(i)	Rice bowl	*Ek-Shera*	(*Pai* for measuring)	100 *Tola* of rice	1,500 gm.
(ii)	,,	*Adh-Shera*	(*Pai* for measuring)	50 *Tola* of rice	900 ,,
(iii)	,,	*Kona* or *Poa*	(*Pai* for measuring)	25 *Tola* of rice	500 ,,
(iv)	,,	*Adh-Pao*	(*Pai* for measuring)	12½ *Tola* of rice	300 ,,

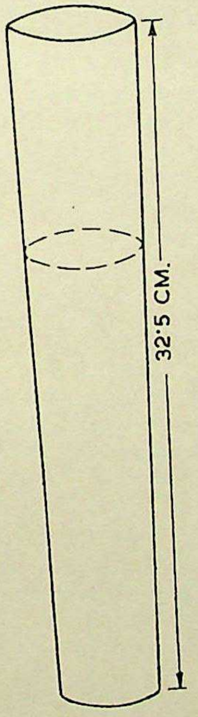
	Item				Requirsment of metal (approx.)
(v)	,, *Chouthi*	(*Pai* for measuring)	6 *Tola* of rice		200 gm.
(vi)	,, *Chhatak*	(*Pai* for measuring)	5 *Tola* of rice		150 ,,
(vii)	Nupur	(*Banki Paikan* or *Banki Nupur*)	for pair		700 ,,
(viii)	*Ghunur*			72 pcs. (in a mould)	500 ,,
(ix)	*Mal* (*Paikan*)			a pair (in a mould)	300 ,,

Note : Sambhu of Bindajam can produce small elephant and horses and he learnt the technique from his father. None else of Bindajam and Netkamla knows it.

17.3 The retail sales-price of products of Bindajam and Netkamla are :

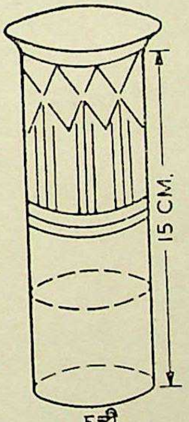
(i) *Ek-Shera* (*Pai*)	Rs.	15·00	each
(ii) *Adh-Shera*	,,	8·00	,,
(iii) *Kona or Poa*	,,	5·00	,,
(iv) *Adh-Poa*	,,	3·00	,,
(v) *Chouthi*	,,	2·00	,,
(vi) *Chhatak*	,,	1·50	,,
(vii) Paiset with above from (i) to (vi) pieces and a top	Rs.	35·00	set
(viii) *Banki Paiken*	,,	9·00	pair
(ix) *Mal* or *Paiken*	,,	2·00	,,
(x) *Ghunur*	Re	1·00	eight pieces

17.4 The sketches of furnaces, mould, press-equipment and sample pieces of production are given below.



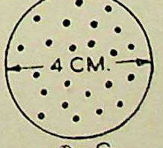
আথৈল

WOODEN 'ATHEL'



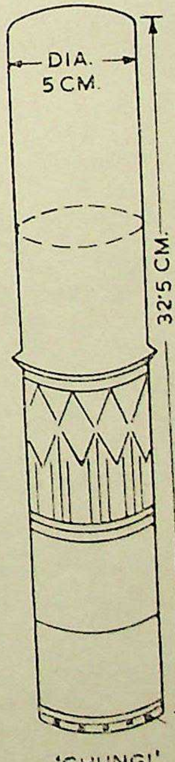
চুঙ্গী

BRASS (CHUNGI)

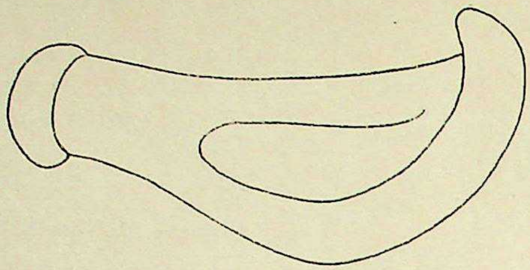


টিকলি

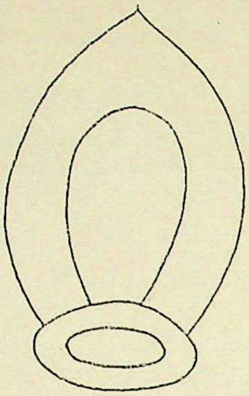
BRASS 'TIKLI'



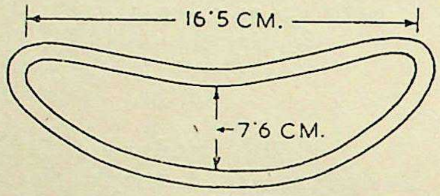
'CHUNGI' COMPLETE SET OF PRESS



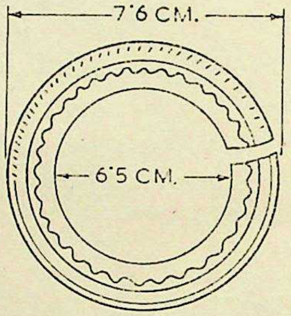
SIDE VIEW OF MOULD OF বাঁকি পাইকন
অথবা বাঁকি নেপুর 'BANKI PAIKON'



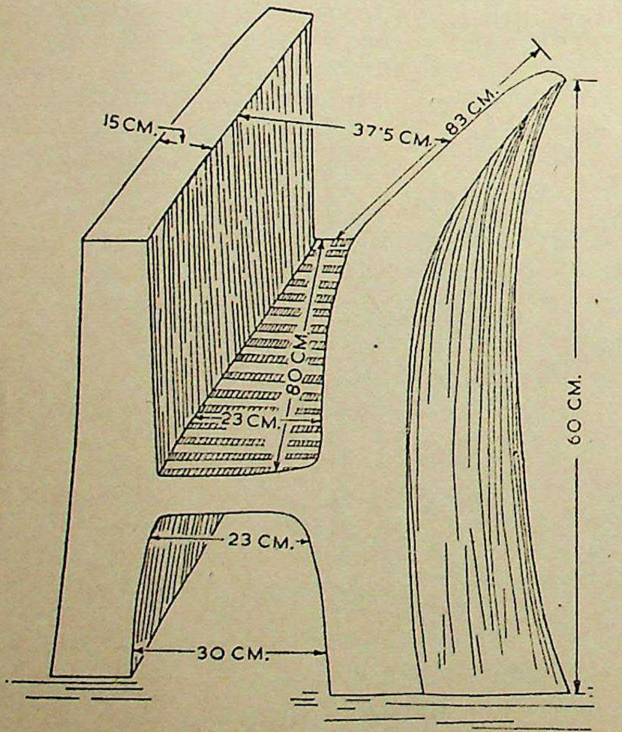
FRONT VIEW OF MOULD OF
বাঁকি পাইকন অথবা বাঁকি নেপুর



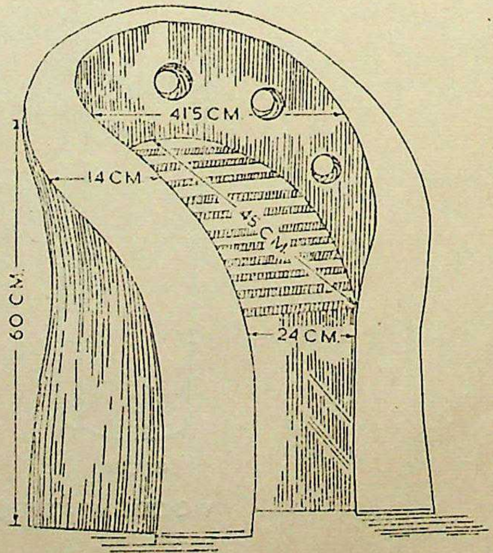
CLAY CORE OF বাঁকি পাইকন অথবা বাঁকি নেপুর



CIRCUMFERENCE (বড় -) 24 CM.
মল অথবা পাইকন


15 CM.
37'5 CM.
83 CM.
80 CM.
23 CM.
60 CM.
23 CM.
30 CM.

FURNACE USED BY THE NETKAMLA MAL
ARTISANS


41'5 CM.
14 CM
60 CM.
24 CM.

FURNACE USED BY THE BINDAJAM
SEKRA ARTISANS

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THE MALAR GROUPS IN MIDNAPORE DISTRICT

18(a) The village of Andharkuly as at J. L. No. 146 in Kharagpur-I Development Block is situated 11 miles away from Kharagpur *via* Salua on the Midnapur-Keshiary Bus route, the six miles from Salua having no road. The local people have reported that three atrisans' families lived there before five years for 4-5 years and left for Bankura again from where they came, for the absence of any marketing facilities of their products. There is no artisan at present.

18(b).1 The village of Belia as at J. L. No. 185 in Kharagpur-I Development Block is situated 9 miles away from Kharagpur *via* Salua on the Midnapur-Keshiary Bus route, the four miles from Salua having no road.

18(b).2 The small village with about 50 families is surrounded by paddy fields, bunds and fallow lands. Many members are workers in Kharagpur-Railway Workshop. The Malar families live on Plot No. 75 on which they have no legal right. They live in mud-built thatched huts, where the floor space is approximately 150 square feet in each hut. The floor is almost on ground level.

18(b).3 These artisans produce cast materials of the figures of horse, elephant and the deities of *Lakshmi*, *Krishna*, etc. of an height of six inches to one foot.

18(b).4 The names of heads of families are :

Sri Gobinda Lag	55 years
,, Gostha Lag	40 ,,
,, Babulal Lag	28 ,,
,, Upendra Lag	60 ,,
,, Bejoy Lag	35 ,,

18(b).5 " Lags " are reported to be " Kansa Baniks " *i.e.* those who produce Brass and Bell-metal goods and are used to have alternative surnames like " Nag ", " Jana ", " Mahanta ", " Das " etc. They are related with Malar families of the known settlements as stated below.

18(b).6 Sri Gostha Lag's brother Sri Dwijaraj Lag married the daughter of Sri Rajendra Nag of Rampur (Bankura). Sri Dwijaraj Lag is also related with a " Nag " family of Eklakshmi (Burdwan). Sri Govinda Lag's son-in-law is Sri Rajendra Nath Jana the son of Sri Nibash Jana of Rajnagar P.S. Dantan (Midnapore) and Sri Rajendra Jana's brother-in-law is Sri Ramesh Ch. Karmakar of Keshiary (Midnapore).

18(b).7 Sri Gobinda Lag has 3 married daughters : Anantabala Nag (25), Satyabala Nag (22), Bimalabala Jana (19) and one son : Sri Lakhindar Lag (14) ; the married daughters live in the same place with their husbands. The first son-in-law Sri Madhusudan Nag (40), of Madpur, P.S. Kharagpur (Midnapore) has one son Sri Ranjit Nag (14) and 4 daughters: Basanti (9), Santi (7), Jayanti (5), Tushar (1½). The second son-in-law Sri Satish Ch. Nag (26), of Madpur has one son Ajit (2½) and one daughter Arati (6). The third son-in-law Sri Rajendra Nath Jana (25) of Rajnagar P.S. Dantan (Midnapore) has one son Sushil Jana (4½) and one daughter Jharna (1½).

18(b).8 Sri Gostha Nag (40), is the nephew of Govinda. He has no children. His brother Sri Dwijaraj Lag (35), has one son Khagendra (8).

18(b).9 Sri Babulal Lag (28) (using " Mahanta " as the surname also) has since left for Keshiary sometime in 1965.

18(b).10 Sri Upendra Lag (60), is reported to have left for Bankura. His first wife is living in this village.

18(b).11 Sri Bejoy Lag (35), is living here, but has no son or daughter.

18(b).12 Sm. Amrita Lag, the daughter of late Maheswar Lag (eldest brother of Sri Gobinda Lag) was married with Sri Gobardhan Nayak of village Kaliadanga near Bahargura in Singhbhum (Bihar) district. Sm. Sushilabala Lag the daughter of late Pandab Lag was married with Sri Sara Nayak of Barasole near Bahargura in Singhbhum. Sm. Lalita Bala Lag, the daughter of late Umeswar Lag (second brother of Sri Gobinda Lag) was married with Sri Arjun Chandra Nayak of village Kendua Marbhanga in Mayurbhanja (Orissa) district. Sri Madhusudan Lag has one of his relatives of village Nalgeza near Amarda Road in Orissa and one Sri Pudra Nayak as maternal uncle in village Agrabhalia near Betnoti in Mayurbhanj district.

18(c).1 The village of Amda is in Keshiary Block under post office Sugarol. It is reported that there are six working Malar families with Abadhut, Ramesh, Bhim, Fatu Babulal and Nato as the heads of Units. The families of Ram, Bhim (Junior) Ganesh, Kanto, Bharat and Nando depend on income from agricultural labour. All the other heads are linked up with Abadhut and Ramesh Karmakar as brother, maternal uncle, cousin brother, brother-in-law and father-in-law ; Abadhut, Ganesh and Ram's eldest son are married in Kharagpur ; Ramesh and Nando are married in Kaliadaha (Dantan) ; Bhim, Fatu,

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Bankim and Kanto are married in Amda itself; Babulal and Nato are married in Kultikuri (Sankrail); Ram Chandra and Bharat are married in Bahargura (Singhbhum); Bhim is married in Mayurbhanj. The total population of the community is 59 including 30 minor members. Abadhut and Ramesh had been under training at the Regional Design Centre at Calcutta for a few months in early 1968.

18(c).2 The first settler in this village was Bhim (senior), who came from village Bankura in Narayangar Block with his mother about 20 years back. The remaining families came from village Sankua and village Kultikuri in Sankrail Block. Sankua has now been entirely deserted by the artisans' families. Then only family of Natabar, who happens to be the cousin brother of Abadhut, now at Kultikuri, is being pulled to Amda and the actual shifting may take place anytime.

18(c).3 The artisans have been living on *Khas* land, but, there has been no settlement. It was reported that, only Bhim has a few *cottahs* of land who has one plough, two bullocks and three milch cows.

18(c).4 The artisans use ovens capable of firing nine items in one/three moulds.

18(c).5 Their *Gotras* are " Domuar ", " Bansmara", " Chorbondi ", " Kuliar ".

18(c).6 Their important items of production are *Laxmisaj*, *Chunati* (container for lime), bell, *Ghunur*, *Mal*, animal figures of horse, owl, dear, peacock (first learnt by Abadhut from Rampur in Bankura), *Pai/Kona* (measuring bowls) and the figures of Hindu Gods like *Siva*, *Ganesh*, *Balaram* and *Jagannath*. They generally produce articles of three inches to five inches height needing brass-metal of half to three-fourth kilogramme. The areas visited by them for sales are Midnapur, Contai, Danton, Egra, Potashpur, Kharagpur and a few places like Jaleswar, Rupsa, Ghuntabastha in Orissa. One middleman of Asansol area has been purchasing items from Abadhut, Nato and Fatu against advances even to the extent of Rs. 500 per artisan at a time. The prices offered by the middleman are Rupees three for one-six inches horse, Rupee one for one *Sandhyamoni*, Rs. 2·50 for one-six inches two figure *Laxmisaj*, fifty paise for one-two inches owl, sixty-two paise for one-three inches deer.

18(c).7 A few names of children are Dhiren (son of Ramesh), Rameswar (son of Abadhut), Dayal (son of Bhim) and Bhondor (son of Ram). Rameswar and Dayal are students of Class IV.

18(d) Kharagpur (Midnapore)

18(d).1 The following Naik (Malar) artisans have been living in a *Bustee* area near Golbazar in Kharagpur, of whom, the first 2 persons have been there for about 3 decades. Their names, age, place of birth and place of marriage are indicated below:

	Name	Age	Place of birth	Place of marriage
1	Sri Narayan Naik	40	Sordiha	Bahargura
2	,, Premchand Naik	45	Sordiha	Chakulia
3	,, Gour Naik	35	Baripada	Kharagpur
4	,, Sanatan Naik	30	Sankua	Bahargura
5	,, Sibu Naik	30	Sordiha	Murakata
6	,, Madhu Naik	25	Sankua	Bahargura

18(d).2 They have abandoned practising the existing craft, although, they were artisans sometime before like those in Belia and Amda. They have also taken up the job of day labour and cultivation.

18(d).3 These persons have got relatives in similar groups in Amda and Belia and they mentioned the names of Sri Ramesh Naik, Abadhut Nag, Gobinda Nag, Bhim Mahanto, Sukhia Naik and Dupa Naik in this connection.

THE OTHER SMALL GROUP IN BURDWAN DISTRICT

19.1 In the village of Eklakshmi in Raina police station (J. L. No. 135) there were nine artisan-families in 1964: Lakshmi Karmakar, Madan Karmakar, Khandu Karmakar, Anil Karmakar, Phani Karmakar, Bansi Karmakar, Sankar Karmakar, Nadu Karmakar, Kinkar Karmakar. In November, 1967 enquiry, the number was five and the members were: Lakshmi, Bansi, Madan, Phani, Khandu. It is further reported that, Madan, Phani and Khandu occasionally produce *Pai* and the others work as hired labour.

19.2 In Guskara (Burdwan) proper town, the 1964 enquiry showed that Tara, Damu and Sibu were engaged in soldering and other miscellaneous work and not practising artisans in the craft.

THE SMALL GROUP IN NACHENSA (BIRBHUM)

20. The village of Nachensa in Ilambazar Block is about eight kilometres from Sriniketan *via* Benuria

and Ballavpur. There are two Malar working families of Sri Gour and Bhondar Karmakar here. Sri Gour Karmakar has got a family of seven members. Sri Jagannath Karmakar has a family of four, who has since left the craft occupation. They have no land of their own. It is reported that these Units settled here about fourteen years back having deserted Raipur in Bolpur Block. Their products are *Pai* (metal containers) of varying capacities from 62·5 gramme to one kilogramme (generally) limited to five in a set : one kilogramme, 500 gramme, 250 gramme, 125 gramme) 62.2 gramme, and *Dhupuchi* (incense burner). At the present moment, they do not produce any metal image. The products are sold by them in market days in Bolpur and nearby villages, having peak sales during the winter months.

21.1 The "Mal" Groups in Purulia

Police Station	Village	Artisans Nnmber
1 Puncha	Kenda (J. L. No. 568)	4
2 Kasipur	Pabra Pahari (J. L. No. 197)	6
3 Hura	Kulbahal (J. L. No. 485)	2
4 Purulia	Nadiha in Purulia proper	2
5 Manbazar	Akro (J. L. No. 271)	16

21.2. Kenda (Sub-para. .2-.7)

They have relatives in Bindajam and Netkamla villages of district Bankura. They have no social link with hollow-casting artisans of Rampur, Dariapur, Amda, Belia, etc. They have heard of the nomadic "Malhars".

21.3 Some of the elderly artisans confirmed during discussions that, about 40 years back, they were converted to Islam from Hinduism. They mentioned the names of Muslim leaders of Patna and Chakulia (Bihar) in this connection. They further reported that their relatives in Chakulia and Chaibasa were "Thetris". The artisans protest on being identified as Hindus. They bury dead bodies, prefer slaughtered (*Jabai*) meat and beef; the female folk do not use conch bangles or vermillion; but exceptions have also been found in practices prompting one to be unable to distinguish them from Hindus. Sk. Ismail Mal and Sk. Gobardhan or Sk. Opinda Mal live together.

21.4. These artisans use "Sk." in the beginning and "Mal" at the end of their names. No other local Muslim were found to have "Mal" as surname Sk. Babujan and Sk. Diljan of Kenda admitted that their surnames of "Mal" was by inheritance. It was understood that the Mals had so far no marriage connection with the other local Muslims. They attend the Mosque and do not have any gods/goddesses to worship.

21.5. The casting items produced by the artisans were (i) Handicrafts like fish, parrot, peacock, elephant of shortlegs, ash-tray, a warrior, (ii) utility goods like *Pai* /*Kona*, *i.e.*, measuring bowls, *Ghunur* for dancing purpose, and (iii) Hindu religious and mythological figures like *Lakshmi*, *Ganesh*, *Ramchandra*, *Ravana*, etc. They use bees-wax for design work on moulds and when it is not adequate, candle-sticks. Sk. Babujan Mal was found to have stored five kilogram of wax as purchsed from a person coming from local forests. The *Mom* is produced from wax, *Dhuna* (resin) and oil mixed together and heated. The threads of *Mom* are brought out from the brass cylinder having inside a disc perforated according to need. The cylinder is fitted in *Jat Pira*. The *Mom* is given a pressure with a solid wooden piston gradually to be inserted in the cylinder. The piston is attached to the wooden beam, *Jat Dang*. The artisans told that they never used or use hand-drawn threads.

21.6. *Ghunurs* are widely sold during the Bengali month of Chaitra when the folk dancers use them in "Chou Nritya". The general peak months fall in the winter, when the artisans appear in fairs, melas and bazars with their wares.

21.7. The eldest of the Kenda artisans is Sk. Babujan Mal and the other two in order of age are Sk. Diljan Mal, Sk. Ali Mal.

21.8. Jitujuri (Manbazar)

Although there was no Mal family at the present moment, the local people confirmed that, about 40 years back, there were a few families who were employed only on agriculture and used to live on a village Danga named Maldihi.

21.9. Pabra Pahari (Sub-para .9-.12)

The working artisans are Sk. Bhanu Mal, Sk. Ismail Mal, Sk. Gobardhan Mal, Sk. Bhalu Mal, Sk. Madan Mal (1) and Sk. Ramjan Mal. Sk. Madan Mal (2), Sk. Sukurjan Mal and Sk. Lakshi Ram Mal have since abandoned the craft-work. They are permanent residents. Sk. Bhanu Mal and Sk. Ramjan Mal casually earn by soldering work also moving in villages.

21.10. They have relations only amongst Mal groups of Bankura and Purulia districts. They are

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not connected with the so-called Dokra artisans of Burdwan, Midnapore, Birbhum and Bankura districts, although, the craft-base is the same. Besides, they have some relatives at Chakulia (Bihar).

21.11 The local Muslims do not accept these artisans as Muslims. It is reported that the Mal artisans worship the Hindu goddesses *Kali* and *Manasa*, their priests being Hindus from Hura area. They have not tested beef and live within Hindu surroundings. They prefer both *Jabai* and *Bali* meat. They often commit *Manat* to goddess *Manasa*. The Mals bury the dead body; but, occasionally also, it is learnt that, the body is left in forests. They do not go to the Mosque nor attend the "Jumma" prayers. They do not observe *Idd* or *Muharram*. Hence, they stand different from Sk. Babujan Mal of Kenda and Sk. Sukur Mal of Nadiha who attend the Jumma prayers and observe *Namajs*. These artisans are not invited in any social function of local Muslims, who have no marriage ties with the former nor have "Mal" as surname. The local inference was that, perhaps, these Mals were previously Hindus. It is also learnt that, they were mentioned as Sri and Sk. in some records. Incidentally, Madan Mal, son of Bhola Mal appeared in Higher Secondary Examination in 1968; his admit card No. 011-270 issued by the West Bengal Board of Secondary Education showed Madan Mal not as Sk.

21.12 Their production items are primarily *Pai-Kona*, *Ghunur*, owl, and the Hindu figures like *Lakshmi*, *Ganesh*, *Krishna* and *Kali*. The artisans also are capable of reproducing figures according to sketch.

21.13. Kulbahal (Sub-para. ·13-·15)

Sk. Madan Mal and Sk. Panu Mal are the working artisans. They are permanently settled and have relatives amongst Mal groups only. They were married in Pabra Pahari. It was understood that they had relatives also in village Bahar near Adra and Baragram in Joypur police station.

21.14. The local Muslims do not accept the Mals as Muslims. But, still, the Mals here observe the Muharram, *Roza* and *Idd* festivals. The use of the surname of Mal is by inheritance only.

21.15. Their products are similar to those being done by the other Mals in the district.

21.16. Chirabari-Nadiha in Purulia proper

There are two working artisans now. They are Sk. Sukkur Mal and Sk. Masuruddin Mal, Sk. Hanif Mal has left Nadiha for Ankro. Sk. Jagan Mal and Sk. Sambhu Mal are only casual artisans.

21.17. There will be 16 working Mal families in *Ankro*. Their names are Sk. Dapu Mal, Sk. Ramjan Mal., Sk. Golam Mal, Sk. Opinda Mal, Sk. Fakir Mal and others.

21.18 It could be gathered that an old man Sk. Sinnath Karim of Chakulia (Singhbhum, Bihar) was the patron of these Mals. The Chakulia Mals reported to be relatives of Purulia Mals were Sk. Ramjan Mal, Sk. Heyatu Mal, Sk. Surmonia Mal, Sk. Jhiki Mal and others. The Purulia artisans could relate them basically to "Thetri" craft. The records, rent receipts, etc. show them as Mals and not as Seikhs.

NOTE :—In a subsequent investigation in District Malda, made by Sri J. Sarkar, District-level Extension Officer (Industries) during 1969, followed up by the author on the spot in December of that year, it could be ascertained that there were traditional non-ferrous metal casting artisans in village Mirdhakuri in Gazla Block and Kendpukur in Habibpur Block. The number of Units will be about 30. They regarded them as Rai Rangdhalai artisans and not as Dokon artisans. Their products were Boka (ladle), Pai, Nepur, Panjani, Ghumgur, Sulak, Maku, etc., the process was lost-wax. A co-operative has been organised at the instance of Cottage and Small-scale Industries Directorate.

APPENDIX

LINGUISTIC INVESTIGATIONS AMONG DOKRA ARTISANS OF DARIAPUR

Prefatory Note by

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Assistant Registrar General,
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Report by

Shri R. A. Singh,
Senior Technical Assistant,
Office of the Registrar General, India,
Language Division, Calcutta

PREFATORY NOTE

Sri A. N. Mukherjee, the author of this monograph, who was engaged in the study of Dokra craft of the artisans in the Dariapur village of P. S. Ausgram in the district of Burdwan, during his investigations, finding the speech of these artisans different from the local Bengali dialect, desired us to undertake a study of the same and send him a note on our findings. Shri R. A. Singh, Senior Technical Assistant of this office, was entrusted with the work. He had a short spell of seven days' field work with this speech community and has given his findings in the accompanying note which we are publishing along with some illustrative materials including a short vocabulary, a few unconnected texts and a story (traditionally known as Tilottama among the artisans) which was narrated to Shri Singh by one of his informants Shri Shambhu Karmakar.

While the reader is commended to the details of the note on Dokra speech, one or two prefatory remarks to the note appear to be called for. Dokra artisans comprising of 15 households in Dariapur have been reported to be residing in that village for the last 25 years while before that they are supposed to have resided in some village under P. S. Galsi of Burdwan district. S. S. O'Malley's account of 1911 Census (Report on Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sikkim) perhaps recorded the 'Dokra' artisans for the first time when he considered these artisans of Bankura, Midnapore and Singhbhoom districts, to be forming sub-castes of locally known Kamaria, Karmakar and Lohar castes respectively, all of them belonging broadly to professional castes of ironsmiths known as 'Kamars' though not adhering scrupulously to the iron work since the Dokras had been found to have adopted the brass-casting profession. Although asserting their claim for belonging to Hindu community, the Dokra have been found to have no relationships with Hindu social hierarchy and are endogamous. With no permanent settlement of their own, traditionally they are of vagrant disposition and only lately have been pursuaded to have a sort of settlement of permanent character. Some of the families were reported to have had marriage relations among their own community people settled in the district of Bankura.

The Dokra community being almost a social isolate and used to migratory habits has been found to have preserved its own speech for use at family and community level. There is, however, evidence of considerable interference or influence of the regional language creeping in their native speech and thus posing a situation of a process of language shift in favour of the regional language medium, *i.e.*, Bengali, which has been adopted by them for all other practical purposes. The Dokra speech materials also showed that the speech community has the practice of employing such methods of disguising their own speech communications through either transpositions or substitutions of certain portions of speech forms or through insertion of additional speech units or even through wholesale adoption of lexical items of another language simultaneously giving them entirely different semantic garbs, in order to give the speech an esoteric character as is common not only with many other such vagrant tribes and communities of India but also of outside in the Eurasian Continent which are more popularly known by the name Gypsies. These situations of Dokra speech provided useful hints to our investigator for carrying out some worthwhile comparisons with the available speech materials of other vagrant tribes of India.

Insofar as the results are concerned, as the report will show, the effort has been successful. Data on Dokra speech has not only revealed similarity of devices of disguise of speech adopted in other speeches of Indian vagrant communities like Sāsī, Kolhaṭī, Kañjarī, Ḍom, Naṭī, Gārodi, Myāнwāle, Gulgulia, Sikalgāri and Malār but also quite favourable comparisons of a number of lexical items of the Dokra speech with the speeches of the above names have come to light. Our investigator, however,

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was on much firmer footing when he compared Dokra materials with the specimens supplied by H. Streatfield and published in Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. XI, page 155, on the speech of Malar, another vagrant community from Chota Nagpur which was found to be Nagpuria form of Bhojpuri (as in the present case Dokra speech is also mainly based on Nagpuria). Further not only the speech materials of Dokra show a close similarity with those of the Malar but in the profession of brass casting also, as described by Streatfield (*vide* his note in the Census of India 1901, Bengal, Vol. VI, Part—I, Report, p. 423), both the communities appear to come very close. A remark from his informant Bishu "marāl kathā ādhā Bāṅglā" meaning 'our speech is half Bengali' appears to have clinched the issue with our investigator when he interpreted the word *maral* in the context of a disguising device of the speech as *malar* while the situation of geographical contiguity of Chota Nagpur with Bankura where the relatives of Dariapur Dokra still live provides him with a strong lead to hypothesise that Dokra are very likely the earlier Chota Nagpur Malar who might have during their usual vagrancy moved over to Bankura and got mixed within the social constituency of 'Kamaria' with their specialization in 'brass casting' craft called in their own speech 'Dokra', a name which in course of time might have expanded in its connotation and come to be even applied to the name of the community as such. But all the same, to many it is bound to appear extraordinary that among such vagrant communities most of which, at least with regard to preservation of their title name, have been known to be fairly conservative, a section of Malar only should be understood to have given up its native name in favour of 'Dokra'. But we received further bits of informations. Shri A. N. Mukherjee, the author of this book, after our discussion on the Dokra speech materials, happened to arrange field investigations and to make personal enquiries amongst the artisans of Dariapur (Burdwan), Amda and Belia (Midnapore) and Nachansa (Birbhum) and it was revealed that the members of these settlements like to be identified with Malar and would even now prefer to be called Malar rather than 'Dokra', a term which now carries a pejorative connotation. Apparently, Dokra speech community has good reasons to be affiliated with Malar while our investigator's hypothesis also stands supported.

In order to get some further worthwhile comparable material on Malari we tried to gather information from village Kurwa of Chakai Anchal of Monghyre district of Bihar where 10 individuals had returned their mother-tongue as Malari in the 1961 Census. Unfortunately, however, these ten speakers who were enumerated as 'houseless' people—showing their vagrant character—could not be traced. The local people as well as officers, Census Office of Bihar informed us, could tell nothing of their whereabouts. The chances of meeting these Malari speakers are, therefore, slim atleast till the 1971 Census operations are held when we may hope to net them again.

It was, however, learnt that those Malari speakers were also having a profession of making brass articles like *ladle*, *Paila* (measuring pots for grains) and *Ghungroo* (tinkling bells worn by dancers) etc.

Although addition of a footnote to elaborate the investigator's point on 'Gypsy Language' would be more appropriate, yet it may as well be done here. The Gypsies are migratory tribes without any nationality and are known to have emerged from Hungary around 1417 and crossed the frontiers of Germany (see "Contribution to the History of the Gypsies" by M. J. De Goege in Mac Ritchie's 'Gypsies of India', London, 1886 P. 2). There are records of their being found in Russia, Poland, Great Britain and Sweden during the early years of the 16th century. They are known by many names, none of which reveals their country of origin. The Greeks called them *Athingoi*, in Central Europe they are known as *Tsigans*, the Germans called them *Zigeuner*, Spaniards called them *Zincali* and their music and dancing 'Flemish'; to the French they are *Boheme* since they came to France by way of Bohemia *i.e.* modern Czechoslovakia and the Swedes refer to them as *Tartars*. In the United Kingdom they were considered to have come from Egypt since

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some of the first Gypsies to arrive there were called "Lords and Earls of Little Egypt". Thus the word 'Gypsy' came to be derived from Egyptian. In many cases, however, their own name for themselves is 'Romany' which, though not authentically explained so far, has got the currency on the belief that they took up this name from the city of Rome as they wanted to pass off as Roman citizens.

Speech groups of the Gypsies which belong to the Indo-Aryan Languages have, however, provided incontrovertible proofs that the country of origin of their speakers was India. The reason of dispersal of these migratory tribes and the exact period for the same from India on way to the West are not yet very satisfactorily understood. Prof. R. L. Turner formerly Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, on the basis of his Comparative Studies of European Romany (Gypsy) Languages with Early and Middle Indo-Aryan Groups of Speeches, has concluded that the ancestors of the Gypsies lived originally in North-Western India, for in the Gypsy speech certain characteristics are to be found which were observable in the Prakrit of North-Western India. Further regarding the time of their migration from India Dr. Turner wrote "It is possible that wandering tribes, perhaps of the same character as some criminal tribes of Modern India and speaking a central dialect, made their way to the North West (probably Western Punjab or Peshawar district) before the middle of the 3rd century B. C. There among the speakers of the North-Western dialect group, they stayed until sometime before the 9th century A. D. they left India in a migration which spread them all over Western Asia, Europe and even America" (ref. Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1964, Vol. 19, p. 463).

A good deal of scholarly work on the culture and speeches of these vagrant communities of the Middle East and the West has been done but unfortunately any serious or sustained attempts on the speeches of the migratory communities of India have not been made. While the relationship of the Eurasian Gypsy speeches with Indo-Aryan is no more questionable there is no worthwhile evidence to show that any of the speech groups of the 'Indian Gypsies' could be reasonably affiliated to any of the Eurasian Gypsy speech groups. The only comparable facts about these two sets of Gypsies—Indian and Eurasian—are that both are migratory; that their speeches carry deep traces of influences of surrounding languages and that finally most of them still make use of disguising devices in their speech in order to make their own speech incomprehensible to the non-native. It may, therefore, be worthwhile to be quite clear about the point that in India any speech of the migratory community when called a 'Gypsy Language' should be understood free from any classificatory implication of linguistic character. In the Linguistic Survey of India Volume XI edited by Grierson, Prof. Sten Konow listed all these Indian speeches under the category of 'Gipsy Languages' with the above mentioned specific reservation only. While extensive investigations on these lesser known speeches of the migratory communities of India should prove invaluable with regard to our knowledge in Indian Linguistics it may, however, be considered plausible that, slang, jargon or argot character of some of these speeches apart, they should be considered for classifications in the approved schemes on the basis of their basic structural characteristics. As for instance, Dokra or Malar being found to be structurally akin to Nagpuria of Bhojpuri should be considered to be classified as such rather than be continued to be called a 'Gypsy Language' or 'Argot' giving arise to a semblance of some independent classificatory unit. We, however, do not rule out serious difficulties of structural classifications of the particular speech to any clear speech or speech group on account of deep influences of more than one language being visible in the speech under study. Moreover, in these speeches the borrowing of lexical items are usually heavy and indeed there lies a fascinating field of study of the itinerary of migration of these communities through the lexical items which are taken over by them in their speech giving rise to the assumption that the ancestors of the particular group might have passed through those language areas of which the residue is preserved in their current speech. The vocabulary of Dokra presented along with the note here will show some of such possibilities. In the story of Tilottama, however, the disguising device appears to be conspicuous by its absence. May be it is a point of relevance to the socio-linguistic process of the language 'shift' in which particular context of story telling the informant partly due to considerations of 'prestige' of the second language *viz.* Bengali and partly due to the nature of ennobling character of this particular story does not feel the need of adopting such devices of hiding the native speech as are usually required on occasions of such social intercourse as is commonly of esoteric significance.

While we are happy to present this brief report on Dokra Speech, we are grateful to Shri A. N. Mukherjee, the author of this monograph, for providing us the opportunity to conduct the study as also for introducing our Investigator to appropriate local officers and people who helped him in conducting his enquiries smoothly. We are also thankful to Shri U. P. Shrivastava, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar, who on our request readily arranged to collect information on Malari of Monghyre.

REPORT

The Ḍokrā or Ḍhokrā artisans of Dariapur in Burdwan are, by and large, bilinguals, speaking Bengali with the surrounding Bengali population and among themselves a language of their own. They have been a wandering people and are now settled in this village for the last 25 years or so. The main source of their livelihood is the traditional Ḍokrā craft—making decorative and mythological figures of brass through 'hallow casting method'. They call themselves Kāmār (note the word *Ḍhāmār*, used by them for blacksmiths) and are endogamous. No attempt seems to have so far been made, as far as I could trace in works on similar people, to connect this tribe with any other tribe of India. All that can be gathered from them is that they have migrated to this place from some village (called Uṛogolsi by them), in Galsi thana of Burdwan District. An attempt to trace the origin of the people, on the basis of my studies on the topic and the linguistic investigation in the field, is being made here.

A wandering caste of the moulders in brass found in Chota Nagpur and known as Malār has been mentioned in the Report of the 1901 Census of Bengal. Mr. H. Streatfield writes of them—

"They claim to be Hindus and Aryans, but the local tradition is that the original Malār was the elder brother of the original Orāon, and that, having accidently discovered while warming himself by fire on a cold morning, that brass could be cast into ornamental shapes by means of sand moulds, he left his brother to do the ploughing and took up casting in brass as a profession. Their work is often very clever, small brass ornaments such as are worn by the Kols, brass ornamentation on weapons and especially elaborately ornamental *Poilas* or seer measures, being successfully cast by them. In habit they are absolutely nomadic, each family wandering about as work presents itself, staying in a village for a year or two and then moving on. I know two houses of Malārs permanently settled in a Muṇda village speaking Muṇḍārī and working as cultivators, but a regular Malār in the same neighbourhood told me that these were practically outcasted. They have no legends on any ancestral home and bury their dead in the village, where they happen to die without marking the spot in any way. Their language is a slang formed by syllabic perversions of Nāgpuriā".[1]

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[1] *Census of India,* 1901, Bengal, Vol. VI, Pt. I, Report § 754, p. 423

The number of Malārs returned in Chota Nagpur in the Census of 1901 was

Ranchi	976
Palamau	125
Manbhum	824
Chota Nagpur Tributory States	384
Total	**2,309**

In addition to these, 9 Malārs were returned from the Andamans. Malār is not returned in the Census of 1911 and 1921. In 1931, a Gipsy language of the name is returned from Bihar.

Grierson in his Linguistic Survey mentions Malār as a Gipsy dialect—argot—from Chota Nagpur and quotes the above portion from the Census of 1901 for the description of the Malārs.[1]

The description of the occupation, the migratory habits and the process of craft of the Malārs by Mr. Streatfield completely confirms to that we find today among the Ḍokrás of Dariapur. The language specimen (a short vocabulary supplied by Streatfield) and the different ways of disguising words of Malār given by Grierson agree, as I shall describe later, mostly with the Ḍokrās of Dariapur. Now, the possibility of these Malārs migrating from Chota Nagpur, in the early years of this century, to Bankura, the border district of West Bengal (adjoining with Chota Nagpur) where the Ḍokrās are still found, cannot be ruled out. Enquiring from them about their past life, I was told by Bishu, an elderly craftman, "*Marālkathā ādhā Bāṅlā*". '(Our) talk *i.e.* speech is half Bengali". Here the word *marāl* may be explained as a case of transposition of letters (metathesis in linguistic terminology) a common way of disguising words in many Gipsy languages. The Ḍokrās of Dariapur still carry on marriage relations with those in Bankura—a few of them are married in a village called by them Laconsae (Lakshmisol) in the Chatna (Salumi) thana of Bankura. From Bankura these people might have come to Dariapur where they are given now a more or less permanent settlement by the West Bengal Govt. But although permanently settled in the village, cases of one or two families running away stealthily from the village are still reported—a fact pointing to their original migratory nature.

I have already told that these people call themselves Kāmārs, Kāmārs, according to Risley, are "the metal working caste of Bengal and Bihar distinguished from the Lohar by not confining themselves to the fabrication of iron implements and by having no scruples about working with any kind of metal".[2] On the composition of this caste Risley remarks, "It is impossible at present day to determine whether all of them are really derived from the Kāmār caste and it seems probable that some of them may be separate castes, which have been classed as Kāmārs on account of some real or supposed resemblance of their occupations".[3]

According to the Census of 1901 the term Kāmār is interchangeable with Lohar, the blacksmith caste of Bihar. In Chota Nagpur many of the persons returned as Lohar belong to various Dravidian tribes.[4]

In the Census of 1911 we find more detailed description of the Kāmārs. According to this Census there are really three distinct castes *viz.*, the Kāmār of Bihar, the Kāmār of Chota Nagpur and the adjoining districts and the Karmakār of Bengal. In the two Bengal districts of Bankura and Midnapore "forming a kind of ethnic border" the Kāmārs are described as being "composed of most divergent elements". The Census Report describes the Kāmār of Bankura as following—"The Kāmārs of Bankura district known locally as Kamariās appear to be of aboriginal descent............the diversity of occupation has led to the creation of two subcastes called Ḍhokrā and Lohariā. The name of the former is probably derived from *dhukan* meaning to breathe heavily and refers to the noise made by their bellows. The Ḍhokrās now manufacture brass vessels".[1] The report also mentions that endogamy and commensality are strictly enforced in the Ḍhokrās, a fact still found in the Ḍhokrās of Dariyapur.

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[1] Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. XI, p. 15F

[2] Risley, H. H.—*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta 1891, Vol. I, p. 388

[3] *Ibid*, p. 389

[4] *Census of India*, 1901. Bengal Report by E.A. Gait, Vol. VI, pt. II, Table XIII, Note—p. 223

In Midnapore the Ḍhokrās are described as forming a subcaste of Karmakārs like Astalaik, Kansari, Rana etc., and as smelting iron. Here again they are mentioned as "probably aboriginal blacksmiths".[2]

The same Census Report mentions Ḍhokrā Kāmār as one of the four groups of the Lohar caste in Singhbhum district. They are described as semi-Hinduised caste, generally using untanned leather for their bellows, eating beef and fowl, drinking liquor and practising widow marriage. They are considered to be a low caste.[3]

The Census of 1921 also mentions the three subcastes of Kāmārs found in the Census of 1911 and points out that Lohars of Chota Nagpur, some of whom call themselves as Kāmārs are "aboriginees originally of several tribes".[4]

The Census of 1931 also points out that the Bengal Kāmārs or Karmakārs and the Kāmārs of Bihar cannot be distinguished from each other and it is difficult to distinguish between the Kāmārs who are and who are not aboriginals.[5]

It is seen from the above discussion that the Kāmārs in Bengal are composed of various different castes and tribes—many of them from Bihar (Chota Nagpur)—and that a particular subcaste of Kāmār is called Ḍhokrā Kāmār. The Census of 1931 gives the names of different tribes from Bihar, now known together as Lohars and often calling themselves Kāmārs. It remarks—"The Bhuiyas, Binds, Binjias, Dhenuars, Kurariars, Mahlis, Malpaharias and Rajwars are similarly to be found originating in Chota Nagpur and Bihar and the term Lohar is intended to refer not to the Kāmārs or Kārmakārs of either Bengal or Bihar but to members of aboriginal groups from these regions who have taken to iron work and often even call themselves Kāmārs or Kārmakārs.'[6]

It is not unlikely that the Malars after coming to Bengal, like other immigrants from the same region[7] engaged in more or less similar occupations the Bhuiyas, Binds, Binjias etc., started calling themselves Kāmārs and forgot their original name Malar. It is also not unlikely that they adopted the subcaste name Ḍhokrā due to the close resemblance of their occupation with that of the original Ḍhokrā Kāmārs of Bengal. Risley describes Ḍokrās as "a subcaste of Kāmārs or blacksmiths in Bengal who make brass idols'.[7] We find the Ḍokrās of Dariyapur following the same occupation.

This much about the people. As for their language, with which are mainly concerned here, it contains a number of words and usages unintelligible to the outsider. But a close study of these words would show that they belong to the common Indo-Aryan Vocabulary and have been changed to their present form by various means of disguise—the most common being by adding or substituting some consonants and syllables in the beginning or at the end of a word. Such disguising of words, which puts the speech in the class of argots, is common in many other Indian languages/dialects such as Ḍōm, Garōḍī, Gulguliā, Kañjarī Sāsī, Sikalgārī etc., classed together as 'Gipsy languages' by Grierson.

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[1] *Census of India*, 1911, Vol. V, Bengal Bihar and Orissa & Sikkim, by L. S. S. O'Malley, Cal. 1913, Pt. 1, Report, p. 499 § 968

[2] *Ibid* p 500 § 969

[3] *Ibid* p. 502 § 976

[4] *Census of India*, 1921 Vol. V. Pt. I, Bengal Report, by W. H. Thompson, p. 355.

[5] *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V, Bengal & Sikkim, by A.E. Porter, p. 533

[6] *Ibid*., p. 498

[7] Risley, H. H., *op. Cit.* p. 236

It would not be irrelavent, in this connection to define the term 'Gipsy languages'. The word 'Gipsy' or 'Gypsy', a corruption of 'Egyptian', originally applied to the migratory tribes of Europe, has come to be used for all other people of similar migratory habits. These Gipsies are found all over India, earning their livelihood by different types of occupations—ranging from working on metals to stealing and robbery and wandering from one place to another in search of livelihood. Many of these who earn their living as tumblers, jugglers, acrobats, thieves and robbers had been classed, till recently, as Criminal tribes. The Gipsy languages are the dialects spoken by these migratory or vagrant tribes. Most of the Gipsies are bilinguals, using the local language in dealing with the local people and a peculiar language of their own while talking among themselves. This peculiar speech is developed as an argot, by adoption by the speakers of several types of devices to disguise words, and the speakers usually hasitate to initiate the outsiders into this speech. Although not strictly abiding by rules of grammar, these dialects are based on some or other dialect— the home dialect of the tribe.

Coming to the speech of Ḍokrās, the different ways of disguising words in it are described below.

1. Prefixing—

K—to words beginning with vowels, the following ā 7 ō/o[1]

Kōdmī	=	*ādamī*,	man
Kōgin	=	*āg*,	fire
Kōgil	=	*ā̂gul*,	finger
Kōkh	=	*ā̂kh*,	eye

Ka—in words beginning with consonants, the long vowel of the following syllable is shortened.

Kahā̃th	=	*hā̃th*,	hand
Kahā̃s	=	*hā̃s*,	duck
Kahȧṛ	=	*hā̃ṛ*,	bone
Kōhtī	=	*hā̃thī*,	elephant

Kh[2]—*Khimsȧr*—*mā̃s*, meat, *Khimchēr*=*mā̃ch*, fish—in these cases we find a reduction in the syllables of the original words. *Khāṭlū*=*āṭh*, eight as in *Khāṭlūdin*=a week, *Khāste*=*āste*, slowly.

c(*i*)[3]—*cibhāī*=*bhāī*, brother ; *cibhāri*=*bhārī*, heavy ; *cibȧrdādā*=*bȧrdādā*, elder brother

b[4]—with pronouns (and adverbs derived from these pronominal bases) and the numeral for one.

bī=*ī*, this ; *bū*=*ū*, that ; *bȧk*(*h*)*e*=*ok*(*h*)*e*, to him etc. ; *būṭhīne* = *ūṭhine*, there, *bibhir*=*ibhir*, here.
bēk=*ek*, one, *bȧnek*=*anek*, many.

2. Relaçing/Substituting—

Ch[5]—frequently replaces the labial sounds (generally *b*) : *chābā*=*bȧbā*, father ; *chēgun* =*begun*, brinjal ; *chiyās*=*piyās*, thirst ; *chiskuṭ* = *biscuiṭ*, *chē̇ṛī* = *bi̇ṛī*, *chȫyrā*=—*pāyrā*, pigeon ; *chā̃itāl* = *mātȧl*, drunk. In the word *chāpit* (=*nāpit*, barber) *ch* replaces an original *n*.

This is very common way of disguishing words in the speech, hence a large number of words beginning with *ch*. In the word *cujāte* (=*bājāte* beating or ringing). replaces *b*.

dh[6]—for *p*

dhōyrā — *pāyrā*, pigion ; *dhȧrsū* — *parsū* day after tomorrow or day before yesterday.

n[7]—for *k*

nā̃dā=*kā̃dā* mud ; *nūkur*=*kūkur*, dog ; *napāṭ*=*kapāṭ*, door.

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[1] Found in Malar, Criminal Sasi, Naṭī, Ḍōm, Crōlhatī also

[2] Found in Malar, Sikalgarī, Nati, Ḍōm, Garoḍī, Kanjarī, Myan- walē, Cr. Sā̃si, & Cr. Kōlhaṭī also

[3] Found in Malar, Kanjarī

[4] Found in Malar, Naṭī, Kanjarī, Cr. Sā̃sī

[5] Most common device in almost all Gipsy languages/argots

[6] Found in Malar, Ḍōm

[7] Found in Ḍōm, Kanjarī, Kōlhaṭī, Malar, Myanwalē, Sā̃sī & Gulgulia

for *g*—*nōbar* == *gōbar*, cowdung.

for *l*—*nōk*=*lōk*, man (cf *nōkin* fm. form) ; *nēj*= *lēj*, tail.

for ṛ *nāṛi*=*rā̂ṛī*, widow.

The last two features are also found in the spoken Bengali.

In the word *lēur* (==*nēur*, mongoose) *l* replaces *n*[1]a

r[2]—substituted for *p*

rè̄cā=*pē̃cā*, *owl* ; *rūjā*=*pūjā*, worship, *roṭkāi* =*pēṭ*/*pōṭ*, stomach ; *rī̃dh*—*pī̃dh*, to wear.

(3) Infixing/insertion—

m[3]—usually inserted in a large number of words *bādmām*=*bādām*, ground-nut ; *bhārmī*= *bhārī*, heavy ; *khuṣmī*=*khuūsī*, happiness, *garmīb*, pọor etc.

(4) Suffixing—

—*chū*[4]—in a large number of words.

ājchū=*āj*, today ; *beṅchū*=*bɛń*, frog ; *kānchū* =*kān*, ear ; *mēchū*=*mā*, mother.

—*kh*—in two verbs ; *jōkh*=*jā*, to go and *ōkh*= *ā*(*w*), to come.

—*gh*[5]—in the verbs *dēgh*=*dē*, to give ; and *lẹ̄gh* =*lē*, to take.

—*kāi*[6] *rōṭkāi*=*pēṭ*, stomach.

—*kur* *mẽṛkur*=*mẽr*, sheep.

—*r*[7]—*khimsār* == *mās*, *khimchēr*=*mā̃ch*

—*ṭ*—*gēmiṭ*=*gā̃w*, or *gām*, village ; *nēmiṭ*= *nām*, name ; *kēmiṭ*=*kām*, work ; *dēmiṭ*=*dām*, price. In these cases we find the change of *a* in the first syllable to *ē*. It is also found in the word *nēbhī*∠*nābhī*, navel.

l(*ū*)[8]—in numerals

dōl=*dō* two ; *tīnlū*=*tīn*, three ; *khāṭlū*=*āṭh*, eight

nȧṭ[9]—(in numerals) *eknȧṭ*=*ēk*, one ; *dōlnȧṭ*=*dō* , two.

In a few cases the disguised word is prefixed to the original word *e.g.*,

chūrmūṛhī—*mūṛhī*, parched rice (*chūṛ*∠*mūrhī*)
khūṛmūr∠*mūṛ*, head (*khūṛ*∠*mūṛ*)

Of these 18 devices used by the Ḍhokras to disguise words, 14 are found in common with Malār, 7 with Kañjarī, 5 each with Kōlhātī and Myānwālē, 4 each with Ḍom and Garodi and three with Naṭī. This shows a preponderance of the similar forms in Malar over other Gipsy dialects. A comparative list of words common in the Ḍhokrā and Malār is being given below. It is to be noted in this connection that the list for Malār was prepared some fifty years ago and normally speech would not be static all these years. A comparative study to the Dokrā speech with the Malār as spoken at present may yield some more valuable information. But the close similarity of words and forms, as also of the ways of disguising words leads me to draw the inference that the Dokrā artisans of Dariapur are the Malārs of Chota Nagpur and after having settled there, have lost all connections with their original homeland and have forgotten even their own original name Malār.

English	Malār	Dokrā
one	bēk	bēk
two	dōl, dōlnōṭ	dōlnȧṭ
three	tīnlū	tīnlūṭā
four	chāirlū	cārlūṭā
five	rāñchlū	pā̃c
six	chaulū	chȧy
seven	sātlū	sāt
eight	khāṭlū	āṭh, also khāṭlū
nine	naulū	nȧy
ten	daslū	das

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[1] Found in Malar

[2] Found in Malar, Kanjarī, Myanwalē

[3] Found in Malar, Garōḍ̤ī

[4] Found in Malar, Cf. *Cho* in Myanwalē, *Chu* Kōlhaṭī, *Cuc* in Sikalgarī, Garōḍ̤ī

[5] Found in Kanjarī

[6] Found in Malar

[7] Found in Malar

[8] Found in Malar

[9] Found in Malar

English	Malār	Dokra
twenty	kōṛmī	kūṛī
I	mōēcha	maĭ
thou	tōēchā	ṭaĭ
my	mōrchhā	már
we	khamarē, khamarmē	hāmrē, hāmrēmene
our	khamrēkēr, khamarmēkēr	hāmrēkár
thy	torchā	tár
you	tohōrme	tohrē
your	tohōrmēkēr	tohrēkár
he, that	bū	ū, bū
his	bū-kar	ákár
they	būman	būmen, ūmen
their	būmankēr	(b)ūmenkár
this	bī	ı, bī
woman	nōkhin	nōkin, jēnī
brother	chibhāı	cibhāī (Younger)
sister	chahin-bahin	chehin
head	kurmuṛ	khuṛmūṛ
eye	khōĩkh	kŏ̃kh
eyebrow	bhaumā	bhāwā̃
eyelid	pipinmī	pipnī
cheek	gālchū	gāl
nose	nākura	nōkuṛā
mouth	khumhār	khamáṛ
tongue	jībchū	jīu, jīb
neck	ṭōṭmā	ghēc, cf ṭōtā= throat
upper arm	bāĭchhū	bāĭ
forearm	kōhā̃t	kahāth
wrist	luluhā	lulhū
chest	chhātmī	chāti
stomach	ladarmī, roṭkāi	roṭkāi
skin	cheōṛmā	chewrā
flesh	khimsar	khimsár
bowels	pōṭmanā	pōṭā
bone	kōhōṛ	kahā̃ṛ
thigh	jāṅgchū	jāṅgh
knee	ṭhehunmā	ṭhūkur
sole of foot	tarpauā	tārpāwā
house	khaul	kholāi, khulāi
ashes	rākhchū	khār
fire	kōig	kōgin

Besides these, we find a number of peculiar words of obscure origin. These words are, however, found in other argots also. *e.g.* lug—to die or beat is found in Sā̃sī, Kōlhāṭī, Kañjarī, Dōm, Naṭī, Gārōḍī, Myān, wālé, Gulguliā and Sikalgārī, in other words in almost all the argots found in India. The word Khamōr (v. Khamur) (=mouth) may be compared with *Khomda* in Gārōḍi & *Khum* in Naṭi & Kōlhātī, both meaning mouth and indicating a case of transposition of letters. Nēwān (=water) may be compared with *nēwānī* in Dōm, and *nimānī* and *niwāni* in Kañjarī. The word *jhōtil* meaning dog may be connected, allowing the change of *k* to *t* at a later stage, with *jukēlā* in Myānwāle, *jhūkil* in Kañjarĭ and *dhôkkal* in Kōlhāṭī, all of which are further connected with the *jukel* found in European Gipsy languages.[1]

As already stated earlier, the language forms a speech island in the heart of the Bengali speaking population. So the constant mixing of its speakers with Bengalies has affected the speech to a considerable extent. Moreover, the recent permanent settlement of the people has brought them out of their isolatory set up. As a result they are fastly loosing their language in favour of Bengali. A large number of their indigenous words and usages have been replaced, as can be seen from the story appended at the end, by their Bengali equivalents and it is only after repeatedly asking, that too from an old man, that one gets their original words for certain things. With the spread of education and due to more mixing up with the neighbouring population, the language may, in not very distant future, completely be lost.

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[1] Grierson, *L.S.I.*, Vol. XI, p. 11

It is now almost ascertained on the basis of the foregoing statement that it is an argot, a Gipsy language. But as remarked by Grierson the Gipsy languages, althougn having nothing to do with grammar, "are based on some dialect, which may be designated the home tongue of the tribe."[1] So what is the basis of this speech ? We may now examine the grammatical structure of the language and try to establish this basis.

Phonology—The speech has got the following phonemes, shown in tablar forms according to their mode of pronunciation and point of articulation.

Vowels

i, ī			u, ū
e, ē			o ō
ε			ȧ
	a, ā		

The occurance of Σ is very rare. The phonetic value of 'ȧ' is almost equivalent to Bengali 'a' with rounded pronunciation. All the vowels can be nasalized. Epenthesis is found in case of a few verbal forms in perfect and plu-perfect e.g. *oikhōu*—I have gone ($\sqrt{}$*ōkh*—to go), *beitāhen*—they have eaten ($\sqrt{}$*bet*—to eat), *jāire*—he had gone ($\sqrt{}$*jā*—to go) etc.

Consonants

	Bi-labial	*Labio-Dental*	*Alveolar*	*Retroflex*	*Palatal*	*Velar*	*Glottal*
Stops	p, ph, b, bh		t, th d, dh	ṭ, ṭh ḍ, ḍh		k, kh g, gh	
Affricate					c, ch, j, jh		
Nasal	m		n	ṇ	n	ṅ	
Rolled			r				
Flap				ṛ ṛh			
Lateral			l				
Fricative		w	S		ś y		h

The conjunct consonants are—*kk, kc, kṭh, kṅ km, kr, kl, ks, kr, kht, khn, gn, gr, ṅch, ṅṭh, ṅn ck, cc, cch, cm, chw jch, jj, jm, jr̀, jl, ṭk, ṭr, ṭl, ṭw, ṭhw, ṇḍ, tk, tn, tr, tl, dm dr, dhn, nch, nd, ndh, nm, pn, pp, pm, pr, pl, bbh, bm, bl, bṛ, mkh, mc, mch, mt, mn, mb, mbh, mr, ml, ms, mh, rk, rkh, r rc, rch, rj, rt, rn, rb, rm, rr, rs, rs, lk, lch, lṭ, lt, lm, lh, sk, sr, sl, śc, sṭ, śm, śl, yr, wr, ht, hn, hr, ṛk, ṛg, ṛch, ṛw.* Of these *kch, km, cm, jch, jm, dm, ṅch, nm, pm, bm, mch, mn, rch, rm, lch, lm, km,* and *ṛch* are not historical. They are formed by the different devices of adding letters to words to disguise them.

The occurances of the vowels and consonants may be found in the word-list and the story appended at the end and are not being given here separately due to lack of space.

MORPHOLOGY

Number—There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural is generally, but not exclusively, formed by addition of the suffix *men(e)* e.g. *lūgāmene*—clothes ; *khulāimene* — rooms, *dādāmene*—elder brothers ; *ūmen*—they, *īmen*—these cf. *man* plural in Nāgpuriā, Pa̐ch Parganiā, Halbī, and Chattīsgarhī.

Gender—Of the two genders, masculine and feminine, found in the language, the latter usually has, as in other IA languages,—*ī* and—*in* endings.

pergā—bridegroom	: *pergī*—bride
bēṭā—son	: *bēṭī*—daughter
ḍūkā—old man	: *ḍūkī*—old woman
nōk—man	: *nōkīn*—woman

In a few stray cases the word *mēdī* is prefixed to the masculine e.g. *mēdī cemlēī*—tigress (*cemlēī*—tiger), *mēdī ghoṛmā*—mare (*ghoṛmā*—horse). cf. Hindī, Urdū *mādā*, Kurmāli thar (Manbhum) *madwan* as in *madwan harin*=doe. The gender distinction is not found in adjectives and verbs.

Case Suffixes—Nouns do not change in oblique case.

The following post-positions are used for different cases.

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[1] Grierson, *Ibid.*, p.1

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Accustative-Dative—*ke* :— *-ke* as accusative-dative suffix is found in almost all the eastern IA. languages.

Instrumental—Locative— *-ē*, found in Bhojpurī, Magahī, Maithilī, Bengali, Nāgpuriā etc.

Ablative— *-lē* found in Kuṛmālī Thār, Bhojpurī, E. Hindī, Sadrīkōl. cf. Pā̃ch Parganiā *-lek*.

Genitive— *-ka*, *-(e)k*, *-kar* cf. *-ka*,—*(e)k* in Bhojpuri, Nāgpuriā, Maithilī, Magahī, Pach Parganiā etc. and *-kar* in Bhojpurī, Magahī, Nāgpuriā etc. and also *-kēr* in Nāgpuriā, Pā̃ch Parganiā.

PRONOUNS

FIRST PERSON

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*mãī*	*hāmrē*
	cf. Nāgpuriā *mōē*, Pā̃ch Parganiā *maē*.	The plural suffix *-mene* is also added sometimes. cf. Pā̃nch Parganiā *hāmrē*, Nāgpuriā *hāmrēman*.
Acc.-Dat.	*mȧk(h)ē*	*hāmrēkē*
	cf. Nāgpuriā, Bhoj. *mōkē*	
Genitive	*mȧr*	*hāmrēk*, *hāmrēkȧr*
	cf. Magahī, Nāgpuriā, Pā̃ch Parganiā, Bhojpurī *mōr*.	cf. Pā̃ch Parganiā and Nāgpuriā *hāmrēkēr*.

SECOND PERSON

Nominative	*taī*	*tohrē*(*-mene* is added here also).
	cf. Nāgpuriā *toe*.	cf. Nagpuria *tōhrēman* and Pā̃ch Parganiā *tōhrē*.
Acc.—Dat.	*tȧk(h)ē*	*tohrēkē*
	cf. Nāgpuriā, Bhojpurī *tōkē*.	
Genitive	*tȧr*	*tȧhȧr*, *tȧhrēkȧr*
	cf. Bhojpuri, Magahī, Nāgpuriā *tōr*.	cf. Nagpuria, Pach Pargania *tīhrēkēr*.

There is a separate form for honorific—*tohẽ/tȧhē*

THIRD PERSON

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	*ū*, *bū*	*umnē*, *bumnē*, *ūmen*, *būmen*
	cf. *ū* in Nāgpuriā	cf. *ū-man* in Nāgpuriā.
Acc.—Dat.	*āk(h)e*, *bāk(h)e*	(b)*ūmenkē*, (b)*umnēkē*
	cf. *ūke* Nāgpuriā. *ōkē* Pā̃ch Parganiā.	
Genitive	*ȧkȧr*	(b)*umnēkȧr*,
	cf. *ūkar* Nāgpuriā *ōkar* Pā̃ch Parganiā, Bhojpurī and Maithilī.	cf. *ūmenkēr* Nāgpuriā, *ōmankēr* Pā̃ch Parganiā.

The demonstrative (distant) forms are the same as those of the third person. The near demonstrative base is ī, using the same suffixes for plural and oblique as *ū*, *b* being occasionally prefixed in this case also. These forms are found in Nāgpuriā also.

The interrogative is *kē* (who); *kā* (what), and the relative correlative *jē* and *sē* (oblique *tē*, *tā*), taking the same suffixes as demonstratives. The same forms are found in Nāgpuriā, Pā̃ch Parganiā, Magahī etc.

NUMERALS—The speech has the same set of numerals as the other IA languages. Counting in *gaṇḍā* (=four) and *kūṛī* (=twenty) is in vogue. The word-suffix *-ṭā* (cf. Bengali) *-ṭā* is added to the numerals. Besides *-ṭā*, an extended suffix *-lūṭā* is added to the numerals for three and four, *tīnlūṭā cārlūṭā*). For one and two the alternative suffix is *-nȧṭ ēk*, *naṭ*, *dōlnȧṭ*. For human beings the word suffix *-jhan* (cf. Bengali *jan*, Halbī *jan* etc.) is added to numerals. Thus *ekjhan kōdmī*= one man, *dūjhan-jēnīmene*=two women. *b* is prefixed sometimes with *ēk* and its derivative *anēk*, thus *bēk* and *bȧnēk*. Being illiterate, they cannot count beyond twenty, so higher numerals are counted by *kōṛis* e.g. *tīnkōṛī*, *tīn*=sixty three.

ADVERBS—The adverbial bases are *-bhir* and *ṭhin* for place and *khan* (shortened to *khn* in some (cases) for time, employing the pronominal forms (b)*ū*-, (b)ō-, *sē*-, *jē*-, *kā*- etc.

The forms *asan*, *esnē jesnē*, *tesnē* are used for adverbs of manner.

VERBS

The structure of verbs is in the general Indo-Aryan pattern. The personal endings are :

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	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*ō̃* cf. Nāg. -o	*-ī* cf, Nāg. -ī
2nd Person	*-is, -in* cf. Nāg. *-is*	*-ā* cf. Nāg. *-ā*
3rd Person	*-ē* cf. Nāg. *-ē*	*-en* cf. Nāg. *-aĩ*

The auxiliary verbs and verb substantives are—

PRESENT

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*āhō̃*	*āhī*
2nd Person	*āhis, āhin*	*āhā*
3rd Person	*āhē*	*āhen*

cf. the same set of forms in Nāgpuriā, with a short initial *a-*, *ahō̃* etc., which is sometimes spelt *āhō̃* etc. also.

There is an alternative set of forms for present.

1st Person	*hekō̃*	*hekī*
2nd Person	*hekis, hekin*	*hekā*
3rd Person	*hekē*	*heken*

These forms, found in Nāgpuriā also, are probably borrowed from Magahī. The practice of inserting *-m* in words, as already noted earlier, has produced a set of forms like *hekmō̃*, *hekmī* etc. in this case.

The negative verb substantive forms are *nekhō̃*=I am not (cf. Nagpuri *nekhī* = I am not); *nekhis* =thou art not, *nekhē* = he is not.

PAST

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*rȧhō̃*	*rȧhī*
2nd Person	*rȧhis, rahin*	*rȧhā*
3rd Person	*rȧhē*	*rȧhen*

cf. the same set of forms in Nāgpuriā and Pā̃ch Parganiā with a change of *á* to *á* in the root vowel *ráhā* etc.

FUTURE

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*hamū̃, hom*	*hȧb*
2nd Person	*hȧbe*	*hȧbā*
3rd Person	*hȧē*	*hȧben*

FINITE VERBS

PRESENT—The present Indicative is formed with verb root +(*a*)*t* (present affix) + personal endings, e.g. *jā*+*t*+*ō̃*=*jātō̃*, I go; *bet*+*at*+*tō̃*=betatō̃, I eat, *dekh*+*at*+*ē*=*dekhátē*, he sees etc.

The following forms of Habitual Present are found

√kah-to say

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*kȧhȧnā*	*kȧhūlā*
2nd Person	*kȧhisnā*	*kȧā̃lā*
3rd Person	*kȧhēlā*	*kȧhennā*

cf. the same set of forms in Nāgpuriā used for present except *kȧhūlā* and *kȧhisnā* for which Nāgpuriā has *kahilā* and *kahislā* respectively.

IMPERATIVE

	Singular	Plural
2nd Person	*dēkh*	*dēkhān*

cf. the same in Nagpuria; for honorific the language has *dekhā*, used in Nāgpuriā for 2nd Person Plural. For first person the forms of future are used.

PAST

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*dekhlō̃**	*dekhlī*
2nd Person	*dekhlē*	*dekhlā*
3rd Person	*dekhlȧk*	*dekhlen*

*an alternative form *dekhnō̃* is also used. cf. the same set of forms found in Nāgpuriā.

FUTURE

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*dēkhum, dēkhū̃, dekhmū̃*	*dēkhab*
2nd Person	*dekhbē*	*dekhbā*
3rd Person	*dēkhī*	*dekhben*

All these forms are found in Nāgpuriā and Pā̃ch Parganiā except 1st Person Singular which agrees with the form in Pā̃ch Parganiā *dekhmū̃*.

PERFECT.—The verb root, as noted earlier, takes an epenthetic vowel and the present tense forms of the auxiliary verb *āh-* to be, sometimes reduced, are added to it.

okh=to come)>*oikh*

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*oikhāw*	*oikhāī*
2nd Person	*oikhāis*	*oikhāhā*
3rd Person	*oikhāhē*	*oikhāhen*

PAST PREFECT (PLUPERFECT),—It is formed with the root, sometimes taking an epenthetic *-i-*, + the shortened forms the past tense of Auxiliary *rah-*(>*rô* etc.)

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	*jāirõ*	*jāirī*
2nd Person	*jāiris*	*jāirā*
3rd Person	*jāire*	*jāiren*

cf. the same set of forms in Nāgpuriā with the auxiliary verbs unshortended— *jāi rahõ̃* etc.

The Causatives are formed, as in other IA languages, with *ā* (<OIA *āpay*). e.g. *dēkh*= to see *dekhālák*= he showed, *betātõ̃* =I make him eat.

INFINITIVE—*āne*(*k*)—to bring; *lákhē*—to see· *dēkhē*—to see. cf. *dēkhek*=to see in Nāg·

CONJUNCTIVE PARTICIPLE.—*dēkh kin*(*e*)= having seen, *kar kin*(*e*)=having done. cf. *māir-kair-kan*—having beaten in Pāch Parganiā.

A comparison of the grammatical structure of the speech with that of Nāgpuriā as shown above, would reveal that barring very minor dissimilarities, it is the same in both the dialects. Nāgpuriā or Sadān or Sadrī, a corrupt form of Bhojpurī, has been described by Grierson as spoken in large parts of Palamau and whole of Ranchi, forming the southern part of the Chota Nagpur plateau. The area, conspicuous for the diversity of languages and dialects, has been described by Grierson as, "It is bounded on the north-west by the standard Bhojpuri of North Palamau, on the north-east and north by the Mahagi of Hazaribagh, on the east by the languages of the sub-plateau population of Eastern Ranchi speaking the Pā̃ch Parganiā variety of Magahi ,and of the mixed population of Manbhum, some of whom speak Kurmālī Magahī, and others Western Bengali. On the south it is bordered by the Chakradharpur Thana, and by the two Native States of Singhbhum, the main language of which is Oriyā, but in which a portion of the population speaks Magahī. Further to the west, the southern boundary is the northern frontier of the Gangpur State till it meets Jashpur, which state the language-pale crosses upto its western frontier. South of this line the language is here Orīyā without any admixture of Magahī. At the western boundary of Jashpur, the line turns north across the State, and then continues in the direction of the common frontier of Sarguja and Palamau upto the River Sone. East of this line the language is Nāgpuriā and West of it the Sargujiā form of Chattīsgarhī ."[1] Moreover, this area is still essentially the home of the Muṇḍā tribe, and so the influence of the non-Aryan languages has also not been less significant.

Malār, a Gipsy argot, which is based on Nāgpuriā, according to Grierson, and which seems to be the original name of the speech of Dokras, was also returned from Ranchi and Palamau districts in the Census of 1901. Ḍomrā or Ḍōm another Gipsy dialect, which has a strong resemblance with this dialect is also spoken in this very area. All these facts would be sufficient to lead us to the inference that this dialect is based on Nāgpuriā, and was originally spoken in the Chota Nagpur area, and with the eastward migration of its speakers it came in contact with other dialects, viz., Pāch Parganiā and Western Bengali and was considerably influenced by them, hence a few usages of Pā̃ch Parganiā, not attested in Nāgpuriā, found in the language. Finally with the permanent settlement of the tribe in the midst of the exclusively Bengali speaking population it has been greatly influenced by Bengali. Another group of these brass moulders, the Malars, might have migrated towards Orissa in Mayurbhanj, where such artisans are found.[2] It would be quite interesting, indeed a matter for further research, to collect the linguistic data of the people engaged in this profession, wherever they are found and to try to find out whether these people belong to the same tribe and speak the same language. The possibility of these people being related to other Gipsy tribes may also be an interesting point for further research.

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[1] Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 5, Pt. II, p. 278

[2] The Lost Wax process of Casting Metals in Mayurbhanj, Orissa, by Gautam Sankar Roy, *Man in India*, Vol. 32 No. 4, pp. 198-206

LIST OF WORDS

anājpatra	cereal (H. anāj)
ābār	again (Beng. ābār)
āĩkh	eye (Hal. & Nāg. āĩkh)
ājchu	to day
ān-	to bring
ā/āw/ōkh-	to come (Kanjiaogh-Sik. ākh)
ā̃dār	dark (Hal. ādhyār Beng. ā̃dhār)
ā̃khu	sugarcane, (Beng. ā̃kh)
ā̃jir	guava .
ā̃rā	egg
båyås	age
bābā	father (Q. bābā, Kan. bāpō Mal. Bāpchū)
bāchur	calf (Hal. Bhoj. etc., bāchā, Beng. bāchur)
bādmām	ground-nut
bālū	sand
bān	flood (cf. Beng. bān-tide)
bānā-	to make
bāṛhiṇ	broom (Hāl. bāṛ(han, Beng. bārun, Bhoj. baṛhanī)
bās-	love
bāsā	nest (Beng. bāsā-house)
bā̃drā	monkey (Hal. bendrā)
bāĩ	arm
bāṭālī	chisel
behin	sister (Bhoj., Mag., etc. bahin)
bēk	one, (Mal., Sā̃s. Kōl. Kanj. Naṭī. bēk)
bēnā	fan (Bhoj. bēnā)
bet-	to eat., (Gār. bet-)

LIST OF WORDS

bēṭāchō(or ū)wā	son, (Pāch Parganiā bēṭā chūwā)
bēṭīchō(or ū)wā	daughter, (Pāch Parganiāṭ bēṭī chūwā)
bhēṛā	sheep (Beng., Bhoj., bhēṛā)
bhawā̃	eyebrow (Hal. bhawā̃)
bhārmī	heavy (H. bhārī)
bhālā	good, kind (Beng. bhālo-good Kuṛmālī-bhālā)
bhāī	brother
bhāṭū	sister's husband (Hal. bhā̃ṭō)
bhir	place
bhår-	to fill
bhōsṛī	mosquito (Hal. bhursuṇḍī)
bhūĩ	earth (Hal. bhuī)
bihān	morning (Hal., Bhoj., H. etc. bihān)
bihā	marriage (Hal. bihāw)
bischū	poison (Beng..-biś)
bīchā (fm-ī)	scorpion, also an ornament
bīṛel	cat (Beng. biṛāl)
bāṛkā	big, elder (Bhoj. baṛkā)
boṛ siyār	jackal
būḷ-	to wander (Hal. būl. -, Kuṛmāli būl- to walk)
bɛṅchū	frog (Beng. bɛṅ)
boikål	evening (Beng. bikāl)
bås-	to sit (Beng. bås)
cākcirrā	squirre
cākål	ripe (Bhoj. pākal)
cāmcīkā	bat (Hal. cāmciṛai)
cārkā	beautiful (Pā̃ch Parg. carkā-white)
cāsā	farmer (Beng. cāśī)
cāṭ-	to lick
cā̃d	moon (H. Pāch Parganiā, Bhoj,, Nāgpuriā etc. cā̃d)
cengā	chicken
cheṭwā	foot
cewā̃s	bamboo

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LIST OF WORDS

cewā̃oĩ	flute
cewā̃tĩ	clay
cēgh	to climb (Hal. cegh-)
cēkā	sour
cāb-	to chew
chābā	father
chāgān	garden
chāgnā (also bhāgnā)	sister's son
chāgnī (also bhāgnī)	sister's daughter
chāhrē	outside (Hal. bāhir, H. bāhar Bhoj. bahre, etc.)
chāltī	bucket (Beng. bāltī)
chānī	roof of hut (Hal. chānī, Bhoj, chānh)
chāpit	barber (Beng. nāpit)
chāṛ	bed-bug (Beng. chāṛpokā)
chātī	chest (Hindi, etc. chātī)
chā̃tāl	drunk (Beng. mātāl)
chēgun	brinjal (Beng. bēgun)
chehin	sister (Mal. chahin, =bahin Naṭī, chhēn)
chet	to eat
chetnī	boiled rice
chewrā	bark
chīg-	to throw
chiyas (also piyās)	thirst
chīk-	to sneeze
chisṭi	sweetmeat (Beng. miśṭī)
chīṛī	biri (Beng., Hindi, etc. bīṛī)
chiśkuṭ	biscuit (Beng., Hindi, etc. biskuṭ)
chōwā	general word for child (Kuṛmālī chāwā, Nāg. chūwā)
choīdā (also moīdā)	flour
chōyrā (also ḍhōyrā)	pigeon
chuṛgī	hen (Hindi, Beng. murgī)
chuṛmūṛhī	fried rice (Beng. mūṛ(hī) Hal, mūrā)
chū-	to touch (I A. chū-)

LIST OF WORDS

chūrī	knife
cibhāī	younger brother
cibhārī	heavy
cibȧṛ dādā	elder brother
cibṛā	wide (Hindi, Beng. cauṛā)
cicā-	to shout
cimṭī	ant (Hindi cī̃ṭī)
ciṛwā	parched rice (Beng. cīṛā)
ciujā-(also bājā)	to ring
cīnh-	to recognise
cīprōw-	to squeeze
cireṅ	bird (Bhoj. ciraī-ciraṅ. birds)
cȧr-	to graze
corā-	to steal (Bhoj. corā-)
cũdi	hair (Bhoj. cunnī hair-tuft)
dat	teeth
dē-/dēgh-/dēw	to give
dēkh-	to see
dēmit	price (Hindī, Beng. dām)
dhȧr-	to catch
dhȧrȧn	summer
dhādāl	naughty
dhūrā	dust (Hal. dhurlā, Bhoj. dhūr)
dhūr	far (Hal. Pāch Parg. dhūr, Kuṛmālī dhūr)
dhōtīḍheṛwā	dhoti, cloth
din	day
diyāl	wall (Beng. deyāl)
dōl	to hang, swing (Beng. dōl-)
dōphil/dophlāi	breast, milk
dūphȧr	noon
ḍȧhȧr	path (Bhoj. ḍahar)
ḍārā-	to fear
ḍārī	branch (Bhoj. ḍarī)
ḍaṛā	waist (Mag., Bhoj. ḍaṛā, cf. Beng. ḍaṛā-backbone)
ḍēnā	wing
ḍhākchu	drum
ḍhāmār	blacksmith

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LIST OF WORDS

ḍhak-	to cover up
ḍhīlā	louse (Bhoj. ḍhīl)
ḍhȧrsū (also pȧrśū)	day after tomorrow, day before yesterday, (Beng. parsū, Bhoj., etc., parsõ)
ḍhūk-	to enter (Beng., Bhoj. ḍhūk)
ḍhurc-	to smoke or drink
ḍōbhā	pit
ḍūb-	to sink
ḍūkā	old man (cf. Hal. ḍaukā-briḍegroom also Hal. ḍokrā-old man)
ḍūkī	old woman (cf. Hal. ḍaukī-bride, also Hal. dokrī-old woman)
ekhn e	now (Mag. ekhnē)
gȧm	wheat (Beng. gȧm)
gȧn-	to count
gȧrmīb	poor (Hindi, Bhoj., etc., garīb).
gāi-gōrū	cow (Myān. gāyi)
gāl	cheek
gānī	wine
gāṛwā	thick (Bhoj. gāṛh, Hindi gāṛhā)
gāw-	to sing
gēmiṭ	village
gēmōṛ	robber
ghās	grass
ghẽc	neck
ghẽsurā	dirty
ghōṛā	horse
ghūgur	thief
gīl-	to swallow
gōṛ	leg
guṛuli	heel
gūbhā	pig
gūwā	betelnut
hȧrdiāl	yellow
hȧrdī	turmeric
hāle	recently
hāṭ	market
hāwā	air

LIST OF WORDS

hakā-	to call
haṛī	earthen pot
hēlā gōrū	cattle
herāy jā-	to loose
hetkūī	narrow
heṭe	below
hiṅsā	ha jealousy
jā-, jāw-, jōkh-	to go (Kanj. jāogh-Sik. jākan),
jāl	net
jāṅh	thigh
jā̃jlā	window (Beng. jāṅlā)
jā̃t-	to press
jēnī	wife, lady (Pāch Parganiā janī)
jhȧr	storm (Beng. jhȧr)
jhāṛ	bush (Chattīsgaṛhī jhaṛ tree)
jhik-	to snatch
jhō̃til also nūkur	dog (Myān. jukēlā, Kan. jhūkil)
jhūl-	to swing
juwān	young
kahāth	hand. (Beng. Hindi, etc., hāth, Sā. koth, Kol. kōhot Mal. kōhāt. Kanj, kohat)
kahā̃s	duck (Beng. Kuṛm. hā̃s)
kȧh-	to say
kȧhāṛ	bone (Mal. Kōhōṛ)
kȧpār	forehead
kȧr-	to do
kōhtī	elephant (IA. hāthī)
kācā	coin
kācmā	raw (Hind kaccā Beng. kācā).
kālchū	tomorrow or yesterday, (Hal. kāli, Bhoj kālh)
kānchū	ear, (Gāṛ kānechī, IA. kān).
kāṭ-	to cut
kāch-	to wash (Beng. kāch)
kā̃p	to tremble
kā̃ṛ	arrow (Hal. kā̃ṛ)
kehnī	story (Bhoj. kahnī)
kestā	sickle (Beng. kāste)

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LIST OF WORDS

kechwā	tortoise
kēcā	spear
khȧbmȧr	news (Beng. khȧbȧr)
khamor	mouth, (Mal. khumhār, Kol. khumma, Gāṛ. Natī, khum, khōmḍā).
khār	ash
khārmān	bad
khāṛū	armlet (Beng. khāṛū)
khāstē	slowly (Beng. āste)
khā̃cī	basket (Bhoj. khā̃cī)
khād	shoulder (Hal. khad)
khākṛā	to crab (Bhoj. kekṛhā)
khēd-	to chase
khejmūr	palm tree (Hindi khajūr, Beng. khejūr)
kheks-	to scold
khēl-	to play
khemrā	ghost
khēdȧr	god, idol, (cf. Myān. khidēw)
khēksiyārī	fox
khimc-	to dance
khimchēr	fish
khimsȧr	flesh
khisā-	to get angry
khiyā-	to feed
khokrā-	to call
khol-	to open
kholāī	house, room (Hal. kholī-room, Sa. khaulā, Sik. khōl, Mal. khaul)
khoplōī	snake
khȧrȧs	paddy
khāṭlūdin	week, eight days (1A. āṭh)
khõk-	to cough
khõkr-	to comb
khõpiyār	salt
khūrā	hoof (Bhoj. Hal. etc. khūr).
khuṛmūṛ-	head (Pāch. Parg. Nāgpuriā. Bhoj. etc. mūṛ, Malar, kuṛmuṛ)

LIST OF WORDS

khuśṭȧnī	laughter
khuśmī	happiness (H. Beng. khuśī)
kiriyā	black (Bhoj. Hal. etc. kariyā)
kīn-	to buy (1A. Kīn)
kōdār	spade
kōdmī	man, (Sā. Kōl. kōdmī, Natī kūdmī).
kōgin	fire, (Mal. kōig, Kol. kōgga, Sa. kogg.)
kokȧī	comb (Hal. kakaī)
komloī	mango
kȧn	who (Beng. kȧn Hind. kaun.)
korāi	lap (Bhoj. kōrā, Hal. khōrā.)
kōri	berry
koṛhī	dull, lazy (Beng. kūṛē cf. Hindi kōṛhī leper.)
kõcīḍērī	the cloth of women
kõgil	finger, (Mal. Jhaṅgur)
kõkh	eye, (Mal. Khõikh, Sā. kukkhi, Kōl. kōkkha)
kõṛ-	to dig (Bhoj. Kõṛ)
kõṭhār	jack-fruit tree
kuhmā̃/kuhā̃	well
kumhār	potter
kurānī	song
kurtā	choli (Bhoj. kurtā)
kuṛiā	hut (Hal. kuṛiā)
kuwā	crow (Hal. kāwā)
kuwārā	fog
kūd-	to jump
kūṛī	twenty (Beng. Kūṛī
kūṛul	axe
kũbhil	crocodile (Beng. kumīr).
kūṛhī	bud (Bhoj. kõṛhī)
lȧkh-	to see
lȧkhā-	to show
lȧclȧcī	whore
lȧr	tear (Bhoj. lȧr)
lȧṛ-	to fight

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LIST OF WORDS

lārikȧl	coconut (Beng. nārikȧl)
lēgh-	to take
lēur	mongoose (Bhoj. nēur Hal. neurā)
lōhū	blood (Hindi. lahū Bhoj. lōhū.)
loukā	boat (Beng. naukā)
lug-	to die, to beat (cf. lugrāi diyā- killed) Sā̃sī lugnā, Kōl. lukijā, Gāṛ. lug, Myān. lugit, Kanj. lugaj, Naṭī. lōgijāō.)
lulhū	wrist, (Mal. luluhā)
lūgā	cloth (Bhoj. Mag. lūgā)
maūr	peacock
mȧr-	to die
mār-	to beat
māṭh	field (Beng. māṭh)
mā̃, mēchū	mother, (Mal, māichūṭ)
mā̃chī	fly
mā̃der	a drum
mā̃jhē	between
mā̃kȧsā	spider
mā̃s or mehnā	month
mā̃sul	muscle
mēṛkur	goat
mīchā	false
moid	honey
mokṛī	earring
morcāī	pepper
moṭrī	baggage (Bhoj. moṭrī)
mō̃ch	moustache
mōĩ	ladder
mõīs	buffalo
muṭkā	fist (Bhoj. mukkā)
mūsā	mouse
nȧkh	nail
napāt	door
nȧwā	new (Beng. nȧwā, Hal. nȧwā)
nā	no
nādō	mud (cf. Beng. Kā̃dā= mud.)
nā̃ṛī/nāṛmānus	widow (cf. Beng. Bhoj. etc. rā̃ṛ.)

LIST OF WORDS

nāṅȧl	Plough (Beng. lāṅal, Hal. Marāṭhī nāgȧr, Hindi nā̃gal etc.)
nēbhī	navel
nēmiṭ	name
nēwān	water, (Kanj. nimānī, niwānī).
nē̃gā	left
nē̃j	tail
niūṛ	gruel
nōbȧr	cowdung
nōkuṛā	nose, (Mal. nākurā, Sik. nākōḍū.)
nōkin	woman, (Mal. nōkin)
nūnū	child, baby (Hal. nōnī=small girl.)
ochālkȧr-	to vomit
pȧcȧl/pȧcmȧl	rotten
pȧtȧī	leaf (Bhoj. pataī)
pȧthȧn	stone
pā-/pāw-	to get
pāk	turban (Bhoj. pāg)
pālṭā-	to change
pāplā	grasshopper
pātlā	thin (Beng. pātlā)
pā̃jrā	rib (Mth. Hindi, Bhoj. etc. pā̃jar.)
peṛgā (fm.-ī)	husband, bridegroom
peṭiyā	mat
phȧl	fruit
phābṛā	spade (Hindi. phāwṛā)
phēwā	false (cf. Bhoj. phēwā=perturbed for nothing.)
phē̃k	to throw
phickȧl	cunning
phūl	flower
pipnī	eye lash (Bhoj. pipnī Mal. pipinmī.)
pī(a)-	to drink
pīth	back (Kan. pithēlī)
pīdh-/rīdh-	to wear
pīphā	papaya
pīs-	to grind
porā/pormā̃	hay (Bhoj. pōrā)
pō̃ṛ-	to burn
purnā	old

LIST OF WORDS

[illegible]ā	entrails, (Beng. põṭā, Oṛi. pūṭā etc. Mal. pōṭmānā.)
pūch-/rūch-	to ask
rábhō	all
rāśūn	garlic (Beng. eásūn).
rotkāi	belly, stomach, (Mal. roṭkāī.)
rī̃dh-	to cook
rōjā	priest
rombhā	plaintain
rūjā kár-	to pray, worship
rẽcā	owl (cf. Beng. pẽcā)
samundī	brother-in-law (wife's brother)
sādā	white
sāgraṅ	green
sālmī	sister-in-law (wife's sister) (Beng. Bhoj. etc. sālī.)
sārchū	manure (Beng. sār)
sā̃pā	clean
sā̃ṛā-	cock
sâtr-	to swim. (Beng. sātr-)
sẽk-	to roast
sīkáṛ	root
sīkh-	to learn
sīṅ	horn
sī̃dūr	vermilion
sī̃ghā	turmpet (made of horn)
sugnī	vulture (Beng. śakun cf. Bhoj. sugnī= small parrot)
sujji	sun. (Kuṛmālī sujji)
sukūl	star
suṛsuṛā	hare
sūt-	to sleep
sūn-	to hear
sū̃gh-	to smell
táple	soon
tēl	oil
telei	pan (Hal. telei)
tāmkhul	tobacco (Bhoj. tamākhū.)
tẽtōr	tamarind
thāmbā	pillar
thābā	claw
thāprā	slap (Bhoj. thapṛa)
theulī	bag (Bhoj. thāilī)
thotnā	chin (Bhoj. thothnā cf. Hindi thuthnā)
thūk	saliva
tījhá	good
tīwár/[illegible]	vegetable
tōpu wāṛ	to bury the child
ṭõs-	to sit, (Myān. ṭōs)
ṭāṅnī	axe (small)
ṭhak	cheat
ṭhāṛā ho-	to stand
ṭhīlī	earthen pot—bigger ; (Bhoj. thilli.)
ṭhōṭ	lip, (Beng. ṭhõt)
ṭhõṭh	beak, bill (Bhoj.ṭhōr)
ṭõṭā	throat (cf. Mal. ṭōṭmā =neck.)
ṭūṭ	to break
uprē	up, upon
utr-	to climb-down
uṭh-	to awake, stand
uṛ-	to fly

Sentences

1. ekṭā nūkur/jhō̃til	One dog.
2. dūṭā nūkurṭjhō̃til	Two dogs.
3. râbhē jhō̃til	All the dogs.
4. hetkūī jhō̃til	Some dogs.
5. eknâṭ pâthân	One stone.
6. tīnlūṭā pâthân	Three stones.
7. bânēk pâthân	Many stones.
8. mâr khuṛmuṛ	My head.
9. jhō̃tilkâr nējchū	The dog's tail.
10. jhō̃tilkâr dâlnâṭkānchū	The dog's two ears.
11. cīreṅkâr bāsā	Bird's nest.
12. kuwāk ā̃ṛā	Crow's eggs.

Sentences	
13. kahãs kår ḍenmā	Duck's wings.
14. hāmrēk khulāimene	Our houses.
15. tår nūkur	Your (sg) dog.
16. tohrēk nūkur	Your (pl) dog'
17. mår eknåṭ jhō̃til āhē	I have a dog.
18. bītå kekår naṛhår āhē ?	Whose bullock is this ?
19. bītā mår naṛhår āhē	This is my bullock.
20. ītå kēkår chūrmī hekē/ hekmē ?	Whose knife is this ?
21. ītā mår chūrmī hekē/ hekmē	This is my knife.
22. ītā mår kūṛul hekē/ hekmē	This is my axe.
23. ī lūgāmene kēkår kēkår hekē	Whose (separately) are these clothes.
24. mår bābā	My father.
25. tår mẽchū	Your mother.
26. ūmenkår bābā	Their father.
27. åkår peṛgā	Her husband.
28. åkår eknåṭ chehin āhē	He has a sister.
29. tår mā̃ kahā̃ āhē ?	Where is your mother ?
30. ēk nåt båṛkā chōwā	One big boy.
31. dålnåṭ chōṭkā bēṭichōwā	Two small girls.
32. chōwā ṭā mōṭā (sōṭā) āhē	The boy is fat.
33. bēṭichōwātā liṭpiṭā hekē	The girl is thin.
34. åkår chōwā āndhrā hekē	His son is blind.
35. mår bēṭī khuṛuā hekē	My daughter is lame.
36. tår chōwā behirā hekē	Your son is deaf.
37. bānēk tījhår khulāimene	Many good houses.
38. måk(h)ē gumār lāgåte	I feel hot.
39. måĭ bihānē cål jāmū̃	I will go in the morning

Sentences	
40. måĭ ḍhoṅḍhoṅo hekō̃	I am tall.
41. chōwā ṭā ḍhoṅḍhoṅo hōī	The boy will be tall.
42. kholāiṭā bånōk ūcū hekō	The house is very high.
43. ehē gēmiṭe ketnā gūlī būṛhā āhō ketnā gūlī juwāno āhō	In this village some are old some are young.
44. rōkhūrē khimchēr cibṛā āhē hetkūī āhē	In the pond, the fish is big, is small.
45. dūṭā hårdiāl ḍherwā	Two yellow clothes.
46. bånēk kiriyā cīreṅ	many black birds.
47. ḍherwā lālchū nā lāgē	The cloth is not red.
48. hāmrēk ḍherwā ekrå-kmēi āhē	Our cloth is similar.
49. ehē kōdmī	This man.
50. ū kōdmī	That man.
51. ū dåljhan kōdmī	Those two men.
52. thēṅā kē lēghuwāyā ?	Who took the stick ?
53. kālchū tåĭ okhbē ?	Will you come tomorrow ?
54. måĭ kālchū jāirō̃	I have gone yesterday.
55. ekhån thanḍā āhē	It is cold now.
56. kālchū thanḍā råhe	It was cold yesterday.
57. kālchū jådi ṭhanḍā råhi hole måĭ jāmū̃ nī	If it is cold tomorrow I shall not go,
58. måĭ bånēk khån åkår saṅ(e) kåthā bārtā kåhanō̃	I talked with him a long time.
59. tår bhirē tīnlūṭā nūkur bås/ṭås råyā	Three dogs are sitting near you.
60. tåĭ kālchū kāhē jāiris	Why hast thou gone yesterday ?
61. tåĭ ītā kē kahmā̃ pālē ?	Where did you get it ?
62. ū påthånē mārlåk	He beat with stone.
63. måĭ īthine kēmiṭ kårek jånnē/kårē āyā̃w	I have come here to work/for work.

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Sentences

64. ū okhnōkhō	He has not come.
65. måĩ tåkhō låkhō oikhāhō̃	I have come to see you.
66. ū nēwān ānō joikhāhē	He has gone to bring water.
67. nōwan hōwåtē	It is raining.
68. mår bābā måk(h)ō kācā dēghåkē/dōlåk	My father gave me money.
69. hāmrō kåhūlā	We say (habitual present).
70. jådi ū gēmiṭō råhē hōlē måĩ dēkhē jāmũ	If he is in the village I will go to see.
71. åkår nēmiṭ kā	What (is) is his name ?
72. åk(h)ō jōkhō dāh	Let him go.

THE STORY OF TILOTTAMA

ēk rājā rȧhō. tekȧr sātṭā bēṭā rȧhē. Chaṭā bēṭāka bihā dēi rȧhō. choṭkā bēṭāka bihā nī dei rȧhē. kichū din pore sei rājā mȧr gelȧk. rānī bhābȧte je chaṭā bēṭā kȧr bihā deno rājā tȧ mȧr gelȧk, choṭkā beṭāka bihā nī dēlȧk agar mȧhō̃ kono din jȧdi mȧr jāũ tāhȧle choṭkā bēṭā ka bihā dēwȧl hoī nī. bȧcȧl rȧhȧtō chōwā ṭā bihā dōi dawānā. ektā rājā annadēśē rȧhō. tekre bēṭīk saṅe bihā kȧr kāthā bārtā kāhȧlȧk, leikine sei rājāk bōṭīk saṅe ektā bhālā din dekkine kāthā bārtā hȧlȧk je amuk dine bihā dēb. sȧbe bihāk āsbhāb jōgāṛ kȧrlȧk. je din din hȧlȧk bihā kȧre gelȧk bihā kȧrkine cȧl ālȧk. kichū din rȧhtē rȧhtē mā̃ ȧkȧr mȧr gelȧk. tȧkhȧn sātō bhāī mā bābā kȧr jā dhȧn daulat rȧhē seimenke bēchkūc kine khāy piu kine sȧb phurāy gelȧk. leikine ūmenkȧr khāydāy kȧr kichuī nāī. esan kār ekṭā thārā bāṭī pajjȧntȧ nāī. kā kȧrben sātobhāi bhīkdūk kȧrkine ānȧten. ghȧrek mā̃jhē ḍobhā kōṛkōṛ khāten, etnā garīb hoi gelen. umnē ekdin choṭkā bhāī kȧhȧte dādāmenke, “dādā jāle mā̃ bihā dēi gelȧk seile ēk din mȧĩ sasur ghȧr gelũ nī bā baūṭā kasan āhē tāū dekhlũ nī bā tohremene to kichū khojkhȧbȧr lēlā nī. mȧĩ ēk din jāmũ kā sasur ghȧr” dādāmene kȧhȧten “dēkhȧtis to bhāī ekhȧn hāmrēkȧr kā abȧsthā, ekṭā kichū pīnhek nāī. khāikȧr kȧśṭȧ hȧwȧte ābār ēk porek bēṭīke ankine sukāi mārbe.” Choṭkā bhāīṭā kȧhȧte “mȧĩ ānũ nī. ēk bār jāmũ dekhkine cȧl āmũ” dādāmene kȧhȧten “nī sunbe to jā bhāī jā” tekȧr dū ēk din pore ū cȧl gelȧk sasur ghȧr. ȧnēk din pore jāte ȧkȧr sālīmene khūb āllād hȧwȧte’bhātū āwȧte’. leikine sasur sās ȧkrȧk dekhlȧk umnoū khūb āllād holen khāi piyek jōgāṛ jānti kȧrlen. leikin khiyān piyān kȧrlen jēnī ȧkȧr ṭhine gelȧk. Suk duk kȧr kāthā kȧhe lāglȧk. jēnī ȧkȧr kȧhȧte “jāle bihā kȧrlā tāile ekṭā khōjkhȧbȧr kichū lēlā nī” ū kȧḥȧte “lēmũ kā hāmrek je rȧkȧm abȧsthā hoyā tȧr kā khȧbȧr lēb. mȧĩ ehe āyā hō̃. tāi dādāmene āye nī dēwȧtren. mȧĩ kono rȧkȧme jōgjōgāṛī kȧr kine āyā hō̃. tāi āj āyā hō̃ kālke cȧl jāmũ”. jēnī ȧkȧr kȧhȧte “mȧhũ jāmũ tohor saṅe” ābār peṛgā kȧhāte “ekhȧn jākte nī hoī tohor. mȧĩ ābār jȧkhȧn ām tȧkhȧn tȧkē lēi jāũ.” jēnī ȧkȧr kȧhȧte “ū sȧb hoīnī. mȧī ībār tohor saṅei jāmũ”. Kichūtei oke bujhāi nī pārlȧk. tȧbe bujhbei nī ghālbe tȧbe cȧl. Kālke cȧl jāb. bētī ȧkȧr bābā mā̃ ke kȧhȧte “mā̃ bābā jamāi tȧr kȧhȧte kālke rahum nī. Cȧl jāmũ” mā̃ bābā ȧkȧr kȧhȧten “bēś mā̃ nī rȧhītȧ jāiboi kā”. “mȧhō̃ jāmũ”. “bēś mā̃ tohō̃ tebe jā”. leikine duo jhanei ghȧrle nikallen āpnā ghȧre cȧl ālen. Chawō dādā ȧkȧr dekkine kȧhȧten, “hāy hāy kā kȧrle, tȧī hāmrē bhīkdūk kȧrkine ānȧtī tȧbe khātī ābār ei porek bōṭīke ānle kā becārī khāī”. jēnī ȧkȧr kȧhȧte, “dekhā bhāī chawō gotinī hāte tȧ rā̃dhā bāṛā kȧr kine khiyāyā tohrēke. aj le mȧĩ rā̃dh bāṭke khiyāmũ” dādā mene kȧhȧten “bēś tȧ tekȧr khȧti kā. sātō bhāī jā khōj pā̃j kin ānȧb choṭkā baūā̃ṭk hātei dēb” sātō bhāī sȧb cȧl gelen bhīke dūke. ī tȧkhȧn kairā kā. sȧb ghȧr kor ḍōbhā ṭōbhā ke mũdāi kine līpā jhōrā kȧrkine pȧriśkār kȧrkine rākhā. sātō bhāī bhīk dūk kȧrkine ālen. sȧb choṭkā baū kȧr hātei dēlen. ȧkȧr peṛgā ke kȧhȧlȧk. bhāī ehe ēk sēr cāl ke legāwā dokāne leikine nūntēl jābȧtī tīwȧn sālȧn kīnkin ānbā jā. jā bhīk kȧrkine āni rȧhen tekre mȧdde kichūṭā cāl hā̃ṛīmē rākhlȧk. leikine sȧb rā̃dha bāṭal holȧk. tȧkhȧn ȧkȧr puruś ke kȧhlȧk. leikine kȧhȧlȧk eṭā tēl lā sātō bhāī nahāi ābā jā. puruś ȧkår ke kåhålåk kålā pȧtåī kāṭ ānā. sātō bhāī ke ghåre kheyāi bosālȧk nijei. sātō bhāi kār khāl hoi jālåk chawō gotinī ke kheyāi båsālȧk. umnē kār khāl halak. umnē sātō bhāī gålpå kåråten je bhāī jāle hāmrēkor mā̃ bābā mår gelåk sei dinle hāmrē kono din asan bhālā manda khāye ni pāyāī hāmrē choṭkā baū ājke āyā hē ār åkår hāthō je hāmrē såb je ṭūku cāl cūn ke ānkine ōkhē dēlī ār ūje ehek cārek mådde ketnā råkȧm je tīwån sālån karkine khiyālåk. ājile chotkā baūtā ke je jethin hāmrē

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pāb såb åkroi hāte deb. kichū din råhåtē råhåtē sȧb ȧkár sasur sāskȧr isay bisay jeṭuk rahe sab ke ghurālȧk. bihān uṭhtåk jeni ṭā sȧndā maruli detȧk pariskār pariscanna ghȧr duwar ke rākhåk. ȧkȧr upri chawo gotini kȧr himsā hålåk, je bhāī dekh choṭkā bauṭā ke sāṭo bhāī ketnā ādār āllād kȧrennā. aro okār peṭāk ekṭa jådi chowa pūtā hoî tāhȧle to hāmre ke chawo bhāī puchbei ni ghālĭ. tȧbe ek kāj kȧrūlā. åke jīser ghår le khedek pārū tāhȧle hāmrē kȧr bhālāhōī. henō kāle ohe dhārle ekṭā daibåt ṭhākur ābȧte bȧm bȧm kȧrte ābȧte. chawō gotinī dēkhe pāyā sādhu ke hā̃kālen. dek tȧ je ganȧnā onånā jȧnisnā to hāmrek ekṭā kāj kåre dēbe. hāmre chawō gotinī tåke kichū kichū rupyā dēb ũ rupyāk lobhē kȧhȧte hā̃ mȧī̃ tohrek kāj kårdēmū̃ kintu chawō gotinī ke cha sau rupyā lāgī. umnēk chowō gotinī kȧhȧlen je hāmrek choṭkā baūṭā pā̃c mā̃s kȧr powātī hekē to ōkhē tȧĭ hȧmrek ghȧrle khēd diu. tekȧr pore dine sātō bhāī bhāt ṭāt khāi kine bȧiṭhakkhānā bȧisāhen. ohe ḍȧhre se sādhūṭā āwȧte tȧkhȧn sātō bhāī hā̃kālen, "ācchā dek dekhinį gannā kȧrkine je hāmrek ghȧr duwār bhālā nā mȧndȧ ōkhā." dēkhȧtō̃ kȧhȧlȧk sādhū. ḍhābū nīcī khoṛī toṛī pātlȧk leikin kȧhȧte khūb bhālā tohrek ghȧr. tȧbe ekṭā tohrek phā̃ṛo. chawō bhāī kȧhȧten "kāy phā̃ṛo āhē tōkhē kȧhȧtei hōī" 'kȧhȧle tohrē ekhȧn mȧn khārāp hōī." umnē kȧhȧten hāmrē khārāp hok tȧbe tōkē kȧhe hōī" leikine sādhū kȧhȧlak, "tohrēkor choṭkā baūṭā jakhȧn khalās pāī tȧkhȧn tohrē sātō bhāī ār chawō baū såb morī". tåkhån sātō bhāī bhābȧten ekjhan kår jīwek lāgin hāmrē sabāi mȧrȧb. tār bȧrȧn baūṭa ke jise hok ghȧr le khedūlā. ȧkȧr peṛgā kȧhȧte "dekh tȧke kåhātō̃ cȧ tȧī bābā tȧr kȧr ghȧr cȧ". jēnīṭā kȧhȧte "mȧĭ ār jāmū̃ nī". esne dū cār din kȧhe peṛgā ȧkȧr. dū caṛ din sunkine jēnīṭā kȧhȧte tȧbe nitāntȧ nī rākhbā tȧbe mȧke pahū̃cāy dēbā. leikin tekȧr poredine lei jāte hē. leghtē leghtē dhȧrȧn kår din puwāti mānusādāmārā hoī jāyā. ekṭā mȧstȧ bȧn rȧhē. se bȧne dhāre jāikine jēnīṭā kȧhȧte ekṭū māi heṭhine jirāwnā. mȧrȧdtā kȧhȧlȧk bēś ekṭā gā̃ch tālāy bȧsilen duo jhan. jēnīṭā tēkor nĭd lāglo. ȧkȧr jāṅhek upre mū̃ṛ ke rākhkine sūtlåk. jåkhån sūt jāyā khubī tȧkhȧn ȧkȧr mū̃ṛ ke khāste jāṅhle utrāy dēlȧk. leikine choṛkine cål jāte. ādhā dhūr jāikine dēkhȧte hulek kine choṛkine jāte māyā lāgȧte. ā̃kh dhāre nēwān cūwȧte. asni kȧrte kȧrtē ȧnēk dhūrek gelȧk. tȧkhȧn māyā kāṭ kine kholāi pahū̃clȧk. jēnī kȧr nīd bhā̃g jāyā uṭhkin dekhȧte tāi tȧ mȧr peṛgā kahā̃ gelȧk. kono jātek dhȧr kine khālȧk nā keū mār murāi delen.

ei korkine jeniṭā khūb kā̃dāte. bȧnek mȧdde ek kāṭhūrā ār kāṭhūrānī rȧhe. umnē rōj bȧnē kāṭhī jhūrī kȧrten. gā̃hē ghȧre bēcten tȧbe jāykin dū bōlā hīṛī chēghtåk. ekhȧn sei kā̃dnā ke sunkine se jēnīṭā ṭhine āykine kȧhȧten. "tȧĭ ke hekis mā̃ ṭhākur hekis nā mānus hekis?" jēnīṭā kȧhȧte "mȧī̃ ṭhākur nā mȧī̃ mānus hekō̃." duo jhane kȧhȧten tȧr kā hōlȧk je tȧĭ kā̃dtis. jēnī ṭā kȧhȧte "mȧr kā hōī mȧr peṛgā mȧke bābā kȧr ghȧr legāi dēwȧt rȧhē kintu mȧr peṛgā ke je kā holȧk kono jantu dhȧr kin khālȧk nā keū māri dēlen sei jȧnne mȧĭ kā̃dȧtō̃." Kāṭhūrā kȧhȧte hāmrek ghȧre cȧ kichū din rȧhȧbe hāmrek to bȧnek mȧdde rȧhūlā khōjkine dēkhle pāb hȧle niklāb. leikine kāṭhūrā ghȧre gelȧk kichū din rȧhlȧk. rȧhte rȧhtē kāṭhūrānio das mā̃s das din hoiyā ā ekro hoyā he. rātek mȧdde ī khalās pāyā. bhor bhor samȧy ūho khalās pāyā. duo chōwā kā̃dȧt he. kāṭhūrī kȧhȧte kā chōwā hȧlȧk chehin, bēṭā chōwā hoyā kȧhȧten. ī pūchåte tȧr kā chōwā hoyā ū kȧhȧte mor bēṭā chōwā hoyā. tȧbe duo jhan ke saṅāt patāi deb. pā̃cū ṭā ekūśā gelȧk. ekhān je jēnī ṭā āssay leyā chōwā ṭa ke sūitā ū nēwān āne gelȧk. Kintu ekȧr chōwā kā̃dlei ēk ekṭā mānik girelā. chōwā ṭa kā̃dȧte kāṭhūrānī sunkine bābā saṅātinī kahā̃ gelåk. chōwā ṭā kā̃de lāygā. ū rȧhe nā pārkine ālȧk. āikine chowā ṭā ke kōrāi uṭhālȧk. kā̃ydā he jesne tesne ekṭā mānik girā. "bābā" kȧhȧte "sāt rājāk dhȧn ekṭā mānik" dekkine ȧkȧr lobh hȧlȧk. chōwā ṭā ke leikine ȧkȧr ghȧr gelȧk jāikne kāṭhūrā ke kȧhȧte 'dēkhā ȧkȧr chōwā kā̃idā jesne tesne ekṭā mānik girā he'. kāṭhūrā kȧhȧte je dēkh hāmrek chōwā ṭā ke ōkhē dē āwejā āi ȧkhȧr chōwā ke lekine hāmrē porkhāi dēūlā. umnē to duō jhane chōwā ṭā ke leikine parāi delen. ēkrājāk dēśē jāikine uṭhlen. goṛ lāgkine ekṭā mānik dēlen. rājā dēkhkine kȧhȧten je bābā sāt rājāk dhȧn ekṭā mānik mȧkhe dēlen morle ketnā baṛo lōk heken. rājā ūmenke ādhā rājaṭṭā dēlåk. tȧkhån chōwāmene pirāy āṭh nau bȧchar hoijāyāhen. kāṭhūrā chōwā ṭā poṛhe dēyā. ār ī kahā̃ pōṛhāī, chōwāṭā kōrāi leikine ū gēmiṭe gēmiṭe būlȧte. ghūrtē ghūrte sei rājāk deś pahū̃cā. gā̃hek dhāre bȧis rȧhē. kintu ohe rāstāy chōwā ṭā poṛhe jālā. chōwā ṭa dekhkine kȧhȧṭe khepī īṭhine tȧĭ kā kȧre boisās. mȧr bābā sadābȧrtȧ deyēlā. ūṭhine jā khāyē pābe piye pābe. chōwā ṭā koikine poṛhe gelȧk. ābār ghurāik samȧy dēkhȧte seheṭhine bois rȧyā he. chōwā ṭā ābār kȧhåte ekhuno jāi nekhis. jājā ūṭhin gele khāipiye pābe sūdū sūdū īṭhine bȧs rȧyās. koikine cȧl gelȧk. ekȧr pore dine ābār āyā. hāmā̃ tåī ehe ṭhine bȧs rȧyās. chōwā ṭā ke dekhkine cīnhe pāyrā

hēṭ ūpár dēkháte ār kā̃dáte he. jēnī ṭā ke chōwā. ṭā káháte máke dēkh dēkh kā̃dátis kā. mā̃ ákár káháte bābā tore asan már ekṭā chōwā ráhe. sei jánne toke dekhátõ ār kā̃dátõ. chōwā tōr kā hálák pūcháte chōwā ṭā. káháte bābā báne kāṭhūṛā kāṭhūrī leikine már chōwā kē parāi jāyā he. sei jánne mā̃ĩ egā̃w ogā̃w khōj būlátõ. chōwā ṭā porhai kine tāṛātāṛī āikine kapāṭ deikine bás ráyā. kāṭhūṛī káháte bābā tāĩ poṛhi āisnā. hā̃si khēli kár kī ār ājke gháre kapāṭ deikine bás royāhis. kā hålåk. ghárle nikal khābe pibe āw. chōwā ṭā káháte máĩ kichū khāmū̃ nī bā kapāṭō kholumni. táhre jádi saitta kāthā kāhā hále khōlū̃. umnē káháten tāĩ ekṭā sādek chōwā saitta boikā mitthā káháb. chōwā ṭā kahate már má bābā ke hekē. tákhán umnē bujhe pāyrā. umnē káháten jákhán pā̃c cha din kor hoyris tāĩ bābā mā̃ tár duō jhanei már jāyā he. tákē hāmrē mānus koirā. chōwā ṭā kapāt khollák. tekár bihānei chōwā ṭā sei nōkin ṭhine cål jāyā. chōwāṭā káhåte mā̃ máhẽ torchōwā hekõ. mā̃ káhåten hā̃ bābā sei jánne dekdek kā̃donā. tábe cá mā̃ okro chōwā ke leikine paṛāi deūlā. táke jasne káśṭo dēyāhen tesne hāmro ūmenke dēb. mā̃ ákár káháte umnē kā káśṭá dēyān mor kapār kár doś hekē. tákhán umnē ákár kānē kānē sune pālen rājā ke jāi kine káhāṭen rājā toi chōwā kahā̃ le je ekṭā khēpī āyā seiṭhine bâisråyā. umnē to duō jhane sunkine tāṛātāṛī ghárle nikallen dēkháten se soi hekē. luktē luktē jāte lāje. ū dēkhkine káháte lāge lajāi kine kā hōī āw. håkate. tár chōwā ke tāĩ lē már chōwā ke máke dē. ákár chōwā dēi dēlák leikine cál jātin nijek deś. ekṭā bánek mádde bhagwān ke káháte je máĩ jádi satī jēnī hoū̃ to ehe ṭhine śáhár hoye jāw. śáhár ṭā hoi gelák. gāhē gāhe ḍheṛrā dēlák je newā pūkur kõṛol howáte. ēk khâchī māṭī kõṛle ēk ēk rupyā pāben. se sāt bhāī sune pāyān unole āyāhe. āikine pūkur kái mājhē sātō bhāi báisā he. chāt ūparle dēkháte rānī chōwā ṭā ke dēkhāi dēwáte oje sāt jane pūkur kár mājhē māṭī kõṛaten ohmene tor jeṭhā bābā bābā hekē. cākár ke paṭhaī dēlák. sātō jhan ke dhári ānlák ānkine lāpit dāṛhì mõch kamāi dēlák. nahāi dhowāi tēl tūk delak. bābhan rā̃dhan bāṛā ṭhīk kár dēyā. chawō bhāi ke bābhánī kheyāī básālák. choṭkā ṭā ke lije khiyāte bhāt tiyán dē. khāt nekhe dēkkine jēnī káháte khāt nekhis je kā hálák tár ū káháte kā hoī táre asan mor jēnī ráhe. ādár korkiñe khiyāták. asne-lūgā ke pīdhát. jēnī lijek pāṛicáy dēlák. dēkh sei máĩ tore jēnī hekõ mokē khēd dēiris tåĩ. ār sei tor chōwā. chōwā ke leikine bābā åkár cūmā cāṭī khāye. dādāmenṭhine gelák. ūmenke kåhåte sei tohrek bohuryā hekē. powātī ráháte khēdrī se yāhā dēkh chōwā. umnē bohuryā ṭhine ālen. dēkh hāmrek doś hoi jāyā he hāmrē ke khamā kár. ār hāmrē asan kakhno káráb nī. jēnī ṭā káhálák jádi chawō gotin ke khēde pārā hole maĩ tohrē ghár jām i nā hale jāmā nī. umnē chawō bhāī cálgelen jāike tāṛātāṛī ekṭā kuhā̃ kõṛoten. jēnīmene kåhåte bābā kā kåre kū̃hā̃ kõṛta morådmene káháten dū tīn gāṛī rupyā ānátī ē kū̃hâk bhitre rākháb. chawō bhāī ṭhāṛā holen ār chawō jēnī ke dēkhāten je dēkhā to dū tīn gāṛī rupyā dhárī kī nī hes. jesne hulekin dēkháten tesne chowō bhāī chawō jhan ke ṭhelek kine girāy dēlen. māṭi dēy kin mādāy dēlen. umnē ābār ghūr āelen bohuryā ke ṭhin. Káháten chawō gotnī ke khēd dēlī. ebār tāĩ hāmrek ghár cål lijek ghár gelák. såb ke ābār ghurālák. sukhe dukhe ráhlen

mår kehnī phurālák
kålā gāch ṭā buṛālák.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

There was a king. He had seven sons. He had given six sons in marriage. He did not give the youngest son in marriage. After sometime the king died. The queen thought that after giving the six sons in marriage the king died, he did not give the youngest son in marriage, if I will also die some day then the giving of the youngest son in marriage would not be done. The boy should be married when I am alive. There was a king in another country. She talked about the marriage with the daughter of that king. Seeing an auspicious day the talk of the marriage was done that on such an such a day the marriage would take place. They arranged all things for marriage. On the fixed day they went for marriage. After having married, they came back. After sometime the mother died. The seven brothers spent all the property of their parents. Nothing was left for their livelihood. So much so that even a thāl or dish was not left. The seven brothers would bring something after begging and eat in small pits dug in their houses. They became so poor. One day the youngest brother told his elder brothers, "Brothers! since the day mother gave me in marriage, I have never gone to father-in-law's house. I have not even seen as how is the bride. You people also

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made no enquiries of them. Shall I go one day to the father-in-law's house ?" The brothers told, "You see brother ! what is our condition now ? We have not a single cloth to wear. There is the trouble of food also. Bringing other's daughter will you kill her of hunger ?" The younger brother told, "I shall not bring. I shall go once and come back after seeing". The brothers told, "If you will not hear brother ! then go". After one or two days he went to the father-in-law's house. Seeing him come after a long time his brothers-and sisters in-law became happy that the brother-in-law is coming. His father-and mother-in-law also saw him. They also became very happy. They made arrangements for his food and drink. Then he went to his wife. They started talking about their welfare. His wife told, "Ever since you married me, you never made any enquiries of me". He told, "What enquiry shall I make ? Our own condition has become so (miserable). Even my coming here, the elder brothers were not allowing. I have come somehow making some arrangements. I have come today and shall go back tomorrow" His wife said, "I shall also go with you." Then the husband told, "The going of yours would not be this time. When I will come next time, I will, take you." The wife told, "That all won't be. I shall go this very time with you". He could not convince her in any way. "Then if you don't understand then come, let us go tomorrow". The daughter told her parents, "Father ! mother ! your son-in-law says, 'I will not stay tomorrow'. I will go". Her parents told, "Alright, if he will not stay let him go". After that they came out of the house and came to their home. Seeing him his six brothers told, "Hāy, hāy what did you do ? We get our food from begging and you have brought this some-other-man's daughter. What will this poor (girl) eat?" The wife told, "See brothers ! the six gotinis (sisters-in-law) have cooked for you so long. From today I will cook for you". The brothers told, "That is alright what harm of-that ? Whatever shall we bring, we shall give in the hand of the youngest bau (sister-in-law)" Then all the seven brothers went out begging. Then the wife filled the pits in house with mud and smearing and sweeping the ground, made it clean. Whatever the seven brothers brought after begging, they gave that all in the hands of the youngest bau. She told her husband, "You take this one seer of rice to the shop and bring salt, oil, vegetables etc." She kept some rice in an earthen pot. The cooking was done. Then she called her husband and told, "You all take this oil, go and come bathed." Again, she told her husband to bring plaintain leaves. Then she made the seven brothers sit for eating and served the food herself. After the seven brothers finished their eating she made the six gotinis to sit for eating. Their eating was also done. Then seven brothers started gossipping among themselves. 'Brothers ! after the death of our parents we could not even once take such nice food. Our youngest bau has come to-day and from the rice we brought and gave her she made so many varieties of food. From today onwards whatever we shall get from any where we shall give in her hands." After some days, she got back all the last property of her-in-laws. She would get up early in morning and offer sandhya and maruli. She would keep the house neat and clean. The six gotinis grew jealous of her. "Even now the seven brothers love her so much, if she begets a child from her womb, the seven brothers won't care for us at all. Then let us do a thing. If we can anyhow drive her out of the house it would be good for us". At that very time from that direction was passing a 'sadhu' saying 'bom bom'. They saw the sadhu and called him. "If you know some ganna (astrology), do a work of ours and we shall give you some rupees in return." Out of greed for money, he told, "Yes I will do your work but I would charge six hundred rupees from you six". Those six gotinis told, "Our youngest sister-in-law is carrying for five months. You drive her out from our house". The following day the seven brothers, after taking their food, were sitting in the sitting room. There came the same sadhu. The seven brothers called, "See after doing your ganna whether our house is good or bad". "I see", said the sadhu and then he drew some lines etc. and told them, "Your house is very good, but there is one bad thing for you". The brothers asked 'What is the bad thing ?

You will have to tell it". "If I say your mind will be disturbed". Then they said, "Let it be disturbed even then you will have to tell it". Then the sadhu told, "When your youngest bau would give birth you, the seven brothers and six daughters-in-law, all shall die". Then they thought, "For the life of one person we all shall die. In place of that we shall drive out the bau by some possible way". Her husband told her, "Let us go to your father's house." The wife told, "No I will not go".

The husband kept telling like this for a few days. After hearing that, the wife told, "If you really won't keep me, send me." The next day he took her. While going during the days of summer, the pregnant lady got much tired. There was a big forest in the way. In the midst of the forest the wife told, "I will rest for a while here". The man told, "Alright". Both of them sat under a tree. The wife felt drowsy and keeping her head on the lap of the husband she fell asleep. When she was fast asleep, her husband put her head down slowly and went leaving her. He would walk a little and then turning back would look at the lady for the love of wife. He was feeling sorry for leaving her. Tears rolled down his eyes. In this way he went a long distance and then his love lessened a little and he reached his house. The wife awoke from sleep and saw, "Oh! where is my husband? Where has he gone? Has some wild animal eaten him or has he been killed by some one?" She cried "O God! he was taking me to my father's house but what has happened now? Which way did he go? Nothing is known." In the forest lived a wood-cutter and his wife. They would collect wood in the forest and sell in villages. Then only there would be cooking two times a day. Hearing this bewailing, they came to the lady and asked 'Who are you mother? Are you a god or a human being?" She replied, "I am not a god, I am a human being". "What has happened to you that you are weeping so loudly". "What else would happen. My husband was taking me to my father's house but what has happened to him? Has some animal eaten him or has somebody killed him? Only for that I am weeping". "Come to our house, and stay for sometime. We live in the forest. I would search him. If I get I will bring him." Thereafter, she came to the house of the wood cutter. She lived there for sometime. The wife of the woodcutter passed ten month and ten days and she also passed ten months ten days. In the night she delivered the child. In the morning she also delivered a child. Both the babies started crying. The wife of the woodcutter asked, "What child have you got sister?" "A son", she told and asked, "What child have you got"? "I have also got a son", she replied. "Then we shall make them friends." Then 21 days passed. She could not come out of the house. Now, one day, the lady who had taken shelter, left the child sleeping and went to bring water. When her child would weep one jewel would fall. Hearing the child's cry the woodcutter's wife (told) "Father! where has the female friend gone?" She could not bear the cry of the child and came there. After coming there she took the child in her lap. But as he cried a jewel fell. "Father!" she exclaimed, "One jewel is worth seven kings' wealth". She became greedy. Taking the child, she went to her room, and told the woodcutter, "See as her child has wept, a jewel has fallen". The wood cutter told, "Let us give our child to her and run away taking her child". They went to the country of a king. After saluting the king, they gave him a jewel. Seeing the jewel the king thought, "O father! one jewel is worth seven kings' wealth and they have given me that. How richer than me they are?" The king gave them half of his kingdom. Gradually the child reached 8-9 years of age. The woodcutter gave the boy to school. But how can she give the child to school. Taking the child in her lap, she wandered from village to village. Like this, she reached the same king's country. She sat on one side of the village. The boy would go to school by that way. Seeing her the boy told, "O old lady! why are you sitting here? My father gives alms. Go there and you will get something for food and drink." After saying this the boy went to school. Again while returning, he saw that she was still sitting there. The boy told, "You have still not gone? Go, by going there you will get food and drink. You are simply sitting here".

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Saying so he went away. Next day again he came, "O mother ! you are still sitting here". She could now recognise the boy. She looked up and down and started crying. The boy asked, "Why are you crying seeing me ?" The mother had recognised him but he could not recognise her. Her mother told, 'Son ! I also had a son like you. For that, I am weeping seeing you." The boy asked "What happened to you then ?" The mother replied, "Son ! in the forest, the wood cutter and his wife ran away with my son. I am searching him from village to village". After the school, the boy came back hastily and locking the door from inside sat in a room. The woo d-cutter and his wife asked, "You have come from School. Everyday you laugh and play but today you are sitting in the room locking the door. What has happened ? Come out, eat your food". The boy told, "I will not eat anything nor will I open the door. If you tell me truth only then I will open the door." They told "You are our much beloved son. Shall we tell a lie and not the truth ?" The boy asked, "Who are my parents ?" 'Then they could understand the whole thing. They told, "When you were only five or six days old both your mother and father died. We have brought you up." Then the boy opened the door. The next morning, the boy went to that lady and told "Mother ! I am your son". The mother told "Yes ! only for that I would weep seeing you." The boy told, "Come mother ! and let us also run away with their son and we shall also give them the same trouble which they gave you". His mother told, "What trouble have they given ?, It is all my bad luck". The people, coming to know of this, went to the king and told, "O king ! your son is sitting with a begger women." On hearing this both of them came out of home hastily and saw that it was the same old lady. Then they were going hiding themselves out of shame. Seeing them she told, "Why are you feeling shy ? You take your son and give me my son". She gave their son to them. Taking her son with her she started for her own country. On the way in the midst of a forest she prayed God, 'If I am a real sati (devoted wife), let there be a big city here". And thore was a city. She made announcement from village to village, "A new pond is being dug, one rupee would be paid for digging a basket full of clay". Those seven brothers came to know of it. They also came, and sat in the pond. The queen saw from the roof and showed to her son, "Those seven persons who are digging in the pond are your father's elder brothers and your father". She sent a servant and he brought them. A barber shaved their (grown) beards and moustaches. She gave them oil etc. for bathing. A brahmin had prepared food for them. The Brahmin served food to six brothers. She herself served food, rice and vegetables etc., to the youngest brother. She told, "Why are you not eating ?" He told, "My wife served food with the same respect. She also wore clothes like this only". The lady again told "You are not eating. What has happened to you ?" Then again he told, "I had a wife like you". Then the lady gave her real introduction, "See, I am your that very wife. You left me. That is your son". Taking the son, the father kissed and loved him. He went to his elder brothers and told them "This is your bau. I left her when she was pregnant. See that is that son". They came to the bau and said, "We have committed a mistake. Pardon us, we shall never again do this". The lady told, "If you drive out the six gotinis only then I will come to your house, otherwise not". The six brothers went away. After reaching there, they started digging a well hastily. The six ladies asked, "Why are you digging a well?" The men told, "We are bringing two-three cart-loads of rupees. We shall keep that in this well". The six brothers stood up and showed the ladies, "See can the well contain two-three cart-loads of rupees or not ?" As soon as they peeped into the well, the six brothers pushed them in the well and covered it with mud. They again returned to the bau and said "We have driven away the six gotinis. Now you come to our house". She went to her house. She got back again the lost property of the in-laws and lived happily. "My story is finished and the plaintain tree is dried".

LIST OF AGENTS FOR THE SALE OF GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PUBLICATIONS

(as on 31st March 1970)

AGRA

1 National Book House, Jeoni Mandi (Reg.)
2 Wedwa & Co., 45, Civil Lines (Reg.)
3 Banwari Lal Jain, Publishers, Moti Katra (Rest.)
4 Asa Ram Baldey Dass & Sons, Bagh Muzaffarpur (Rest.)

AHMEDABAD

1 Balgovind Booksellers, Gandhi Road (Rest.)
2 Chandra Kant Chimanlal Vora, Gandhi Road (Reg.)
3 New Order Book Co., Gandhi Road, Ellis Bridge (Reg.)
4 Sasta Kitab Ghar, Near Relief Talkies, Patthar Kaval, Relief Road (Reg.)
5 Gujarat Law House, Near Municipal Swimming Bath. (Rest.)
6 Mahajan Brothers, Opp. Khadia Police Gate (Rest.)
7 Himanshu Book Co., 10 Mission Market, Near Gujarat College (Rest.)

AHMADNAGAR

1 V. T. Jorkar, Prop. Rama General Stores, Nari Path (Rest.)

AJMAER

1 Book Land, 663, Madar Gate (Reg.)
2 Rajputana Book House, Station Road (Reg.)

ALIGARH

1 Friend's Book House, Muslim University Market (Reg.)
2 New Kitab Ghar, Mill Market (Rest.)

ALLAHABAD

1 Kitabistan, 17-A, Kamla Nehru Road (Reg.)
2 Law Book Co., Sardar Patel Marg, P. Box 4 (Reg.)
3 Ram Narain Lal Boni Madhe, 2A, Katra Road (Reg.)
4 Universal Book Co., 20 M. G. Road (Reg.)
5 University Book Agency (of Lahore), Elgin Road (Reg.)
6 Bharat Law House, 15, Mahatma Gandhi Marg (Rest.)
7 Chandralok Prakashan, 73, Darbhenga Colony (Rest.)
8 Ram Narian Lal Beni Prasad, 2-A, Katra Road (Rest.)

AMBALA CANTT.

1 English Book Depot, Ambala Cantt. (Reg.)

AMBALA CITY

1 Sethi Law House, 8719, Rly. Road, Ambala City (Reg.)

AMRITSAR

1 Amar Nath & Sons, Near P.O. Majith Mandi (Reg.)
2 Law Book Agency, G. T. Road, Puttigarh (Reg.)
3 The Bhoksellers Retreat, Hall Baxar (Reg.)

ANAND

1 Vijaya Stores, Station Road (Rest.)

BANGALORE

1 Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore Road, P.O. B. 507. (Reg.)
2 Inernational Book House, P. Ltd., 4F, M. G. Road. (Reg.)
3 Makkala Pustak Press, Balamandire, Gandhinagar (Reg.)
4 S. S. Book Emporium 118, Mount Joy Road, Hanumant Nagar (Reg.)
5 Standard Book Depot, Avenue Road (Reg.)
6 Vichara Sahitya P. Ltd., Balepet (Reg.)
7 Atma Stores, 5th Crose Malleswaram (Rest.)

BAREILLY

1 Agarwal Bros., Bara Bazar (Reg.)

BARODA

1 New Medical Book House, 540, Maden Zampa Road (Rest.)
2 St. Chandrakant Mohan Lal Shah Gaini Shankar Bldg. Diwanji's Wada Dandia Bazar (Rest.)

BHAGALPUR

1 Paper Stationery Stores, D. N. Singh Road (Reg.)

BHOPAL

1 Lyall Book Depot, Moh. Din Bldg., Sultania Road (Reg.)
2 Bhopal Sahitya Sadan, Publishers Booksellers & Stationers, 37, Lalwani Press Road (Rest.)

BHUBANESHWAR

1 Prabhat K. Mahapatra, Bhubaneswar Marg (Reg.)

BHAVANAGAR

1 Shah Parsotam Dass Gigabhai, M. G. Road (Rest.)

BOLAPURA

1 Bolpur Pustakalaya, Rabindra Sarai, P. O. Bolpur, Birbhum (W. B.) (Rest.)

BIJAPUR

1 Sh. D. V. Deshpane, Recognised Law Booksellers Prop. Vinod Book Depot, Near Shiralshetti chowk. (Rest.)

BELGHARIA

1 Granthloka, 5/1, Ambica Mukherji Road, 24, Parganas, W. B. (Rest.)

BIKANER

1 Bhandari Bors., Gaga Gate (Rest.)

BOMBAY

1 Charles Lambert & Col., 101, M. G. Road (Reg.)
2 Co-operators Book Depot, 5/32, Ahmed Sailor Bldg. Dadar (Reg.)
3 Current Book House, Maruti Lane, Raghunath Dadaji Street (Reg.)
4 Current Technical Literature Co., P. Ltd., India House, 1st. Floor (Reg.)

BOMBAY—*contd.*

5 C. Jamnadadas & Co., Booksellers, 146-C, Princess Street (Reg.)
6 Indo Nath & Co., Office No. 8, 1st floor, 257 Frase Road (Reg.)
7 International Book House Ltd., 9, Ash Lane, M. G. Road (Reg.)
8 Kathari Book Depot, King Edward Road (Reg.)
9 Lakhani Book Depot, Girgaum (Reg.)
10 Minerva Book Shop, 10, Kailash Darsha, 3rd. Floor, Nava Chowk (Reg.)
11 N. M. Tripathi P. Ltd., Princes Street (Reg.)
12 New Book Co., 188-190 Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji Road (Reg.)
13 P. P. H. Book Stall, 190/B, Khetwadi Main Road (Reg.)
14 World Literature, Pyare Singh Chug House, Agra Road (Rest.)
15 M. & J. Services 2-A, Bahri Building, P. B. 6007. (Rest.)
16 Swastik Sales Co., Scientific & Technical Book-Sellers (Rest.)
17 Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road. (Reg.)
18 Sunderdas Gain Chand, 601, Girgaum Road, Near Princess Street (Reg.)
19 Thacker & Co., 342, Kalbedevi Road (Rest.)
20 All India Supply Co., 342, Kalbedevi Road. (Rest.)
21 Amalga Mated Press, 41 Hamam Street. (Rest.)
22 Asian Trading Co., 310, the Miraballe P. M. 1505 (Rest.)
23 Secretary, Salestax Practioner Association Room No. 8, Palton Road (Rest.)
24 Usha Book Depot, 585, Chira Bazar (Reg.)

CALCUTTA

1 Chatterjee & Co., 3/1, Becharam Chatterjee Lane (Reg.)
2 Current Literature Co., 208, M.G. Road (Rest.)
3 Dass Gupta & Co., Ltd., 54/3, College Street (Reg.)
4 Firma K. L. Mukhopadya, 6/1A, Banchharam Akrur Lane (Reg.)
5 Hindu Library, 69-A, Balaram De Street. (Reg.)
6 M. C. Sarkar & Sons P. Ltd., 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street (Reg.)
7 Oxford Book Stationery Co., 17, Park Street (Reg.)
8 R. Chambrary & Co. Ltd., Kant House, P-33, Mission Row Extension (Reg.)
9 S. C. Sarkar & Sons P. Ltd., 1/C, College Square (Reg.)
10 S. K. Lahiri & Co. Ltd., College Street (Reg.)
11 Thacker Spink & Co. (1933) P. Ltd., 3, Esplanade East (Reg.)
12 W. Newman & Co., Ltd., 3 Old Court House Street (Reg.)
13 Indian Book Dist. Co., C-52, M.G. Road (Rest.)
14 K. K. Roy, 55, Gariahat Road, P. Box No. 10210 (Rest.)
15 Manimala, 123, Bow Bazar Street (Reg.)
16 Modern Book Depot, 8, Chowringhee Centre (Rest.)
17 New Script, 172/3, Rash Behari Avenue (Reg.)
18 Gyan Bharati, 171-A, M. G. Road (Reg.)
19 Mukherjee Library, 1, Gopi Mohan Datta Lane (Rest.)
20 S. Bhattercharya & Co., 49, Dharamtalla Street (Rest.)
21 Scientific Book Agency, 103, Netaji Subhas Road (Rest.)

CALCUTTA—*contd.*

22 Sm. P. D. Upadhyay, 16, Munshi Sardaruddin Lane (Rest.)
23 Universal Book Dist., 8/2, Hastings Street (Rest.)
24 Manisha Granthalaya P. Ltd., 4/3 B, Bankim Chatterji Street (Rest.)
25 N. M. Roy Chowdhury Co. P. Ltd., 72, M. G. Road (Rest.)

CHANDIGARH

1 Jain Law Agency, Shop No. 5, Sector 22D. (Reg.)
2 Mehta Bros., 1933, Sector 22 B (Reg.)
3 Rama News Agency, Booksellers, Sector No. 22 (Reg.)
4 Universal Book Store, Booth No. 25, Sector No. 22D (Reg.)
5 English Book Shop, 34, Sector 22D (Rest.)

CALICUT

1 Touring Book Stall, Court Road (Rest.)

CUTTACK

1 Cuttack Law Times, Cuttack (Reg.)
2 D. P. Soor & Sons, Manglabag (Rest.)
3 New Students Store (Rest.)

DEHRADUN

1 Bishan Singh and Mahendra Pal Singh, 318, Chukhuwala (Reg.)
2 Jugal Kishore & Co., Rajpura Road (Reg.)
3 National News Agency, Paltan Bazar (Reg.)
4 Sant Singh & Sons, 28, Rama Market (Rest.)
5 Universal Book House, 39A, Rajpur Road (Rest.)
6 Netraj Publishers, 52, Rajpur Road (Reg.)

DELHI

1 Atma Ram & Sons, Kashmeri Gate (Reg.)
2 Bahri Bros., 243, Lajpat Rai Market (Reg.)
3 Bawa Harkishan Das Bedi (Vijaya General Agencies Delhi Ahata Kodara Chamalian Road (Reg.)
4 Bookweels, 4 Sant Narankari Colony, P. B. 1565, Dlhi-9 (Reg.)
5 Dhanwant Medical & Law Book House, 1522, Lajpat Rai Market. (Reg.)
6 Federal Law Depot, Kashmeri Gate (Reg.)
7 Imperial Publishing Co. ,3 Faiz Bazar D. Ganj (Reg.)
8 Indian Army Book Depot, 3, Ansari Road, D. Ganj (Reg.)
9 J. M. Jaina & Bros., Mori Gate. (Reg.)
10 Kitab Mahal (wholesale Division) P. Ltd., 28, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
11 K. L. Sethi, Suppliers of Law Commercial & Tech. Books, Shantinagar, Ganeshpura (Reg.)
12 Metropolitan Book Co., 1, Faiz Bazar (Reg.)
13 Publication Centre, Subzi Mandi, Opp, Birla Mills (Reg.)
14 Sat Narian & Sons, 3141, Mohd. Ali Bazar, M. Gate (Reg.)
15 Universal Book & Stationery Co., 16, Netaji Subhas Marg (Reg.)
16 Universal Book Traders, 80, Gokhle Market (Reg.)
17 Youngman & Co., Nai Sarak (Reg.)
18 Adarsh Publicity Service, 5A/10, Ansari Road, Daryaganj (Rest.)
19 Amar Hind Book House, Nair Sarak (Rest.)

DELHI—*contd.*

20 All India Educational Supply Co., Sri Ram Buildings, Jawahar Nagar (Rest.)
21 B. Nath & Bros. 3808, Charkawalan (Chowri Bazar) (Rest.)
22 General Book Depot, 1691, Nai Sarak (Rest.)
23 Hindi Sahitya Sansar, 1547, Nai Sarak (Rest.)
24 Law Literature House, 2646, Balimaran (Rest.)
25 Munshi Ram Manchar Lal, Oriental Booksellers & Publishers, P.B. No.1165 Nai Sarak (Rest.)
26 Premier Book Co., Printers, Publishers and Booksellers, Nai Sarak (Reg.)
27 Oversees Book Agency, 3810 David Street D. Ganj 9 (Reg.)
28 Amir Book Depot, Nai Sarak (Rest.)
29 Rajpal & Sons, Kashmeri Gate (Rest.)
30 Saini Law Publishing Co., 1899, Chandni Chowk (Rest.)
31 Motilal Banarsi Dass, Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar (Rest.)
32 Sangam Book Depot, Main Market, Gupta Colony (Reg.)
33 Summer Bros., P.O. Birla Lines (Rest.)
34 University Book House, 15, U. B. Bangalore Road, Jawahar Nagar (Rest.)
35 Om Book Stall, Civil Court Compound (Reg.)

DHANBAD
1 New Sketch Press, Post Box 26 (Rest.)

DHARWAR
1 Bharat Book Depot. and Prakashan, Subhas Road (Rest.)
2 Akalwadi Book Depot. Vijay Road (Rest.)

ERNAKULAM
1 South India Traders, C/o Constitutional Law Journal (Reg.)
2 Pai & Co., Broadway (Rest.)

FEROZEPORE CANTT.
1 English Book Depot, 78, Jhoke Road (Reg.)

GAYA
1 Sahitya Sadan, Gautam Budha Marg (Reg.)

GOA
1 Sughals Book House P.O. B. 70, Near the Church (Rest.)

GURGAON
1 Prabhu Book Service, Nai Subzi Mandi (Rest.)

GUNTUR
1 Book Lovers P. Ltd., Arnudelpet, Chowrasta (Reg.)

GWALIOR
1 Loyal Book Depot, Patankar Bazar, Lashmar (Rest.)
2 Tater Bros., Sarafe
3 Anand Pustak Bhandar, M. L. B. Marg (Rest.)
4 M. C. Daftari, Prop. M. B. Jain & Bros., Booksellers, Sarafa, Lashkar (Rest.)
5 Grover Law House, Near High Court Gali (Rest.)
6 Kitab Ghar, High Court Road (Reg.)

GHAZIABAD
1 Jayana Book Agency, Outside S. D. Inter College, G. T. Road (Rest.)
2 S. Gupta, 342, Rao Nagar (Reg.)

HYDERABAD
1 The Swaraj Book Depot, Lakdikapul (Reg.)
2 Bhasha Prakashan 22-5-69 Gharkaman (Rest.)
3 Booklovers P. Ltd., Kachiguda Chowrasta (Rest.)
4 Book Syndicate Devka Mahal, Opp. Central Bank (Reg.)
5 Labour Law Publications, 873, Sultan Bazar (Reg.)
6 Book Links Corporation, Narayanagoda (Reg.)

HARDWAR
1 Sewa Kunj, Kanshal Bhawan Brashampuri (Rest.)

HUBLI
1 Pervaja's Book House, Station Road. (Reg.)

INDORE
1 Wadhwa & Co., 27 Mahatma Gandhi Road (Reg.)
2 Madhya Pradesh Book Centre, 41, Ahilyapura (Rest.)
3 Modern Book House, Shiv Vilas Palace (Rest.)
4 Swarup Bros. Khajuri Bazar (Reg.)
5 Vinay Pustak Bhandar (Rest.)

JAIPUR CITY
1 Bharat Law House, Booksellers & Publishers, Opp. Prem Prakash Cinema (Reg.)
2 Popular Book Depot, Chaura Rasta (Reg.)
3 Vani Mandir Swami Mansigh Highway (Reg.)
4 Raj Books & Subs. Agency, 16 Nehru Bazar (Rest.)

JAMSHEDPUR
1 Amar Kitab Ghar, Diagonal Road, P. B. No. 78 (Reg.)
2 Gupta Stores, Dhtkidith (Reg.)
3 Sanyal Bros., Booksellers & News Agents 26, Main Road. (Rest.)

JAMNAGAR
1 Swadeshi Vastu Bhandar, Ratnabai Masid Road (Reg.)

JODHPUR
1 Chopra Bros., Tripolia Bazar (Reg.)
2 Dwarka Das Rathi, Wholesale Books and News Agents (Reg.)
3 Kitab Ghar, Sojati Gate (Reg.)
4 Rajasthan Law House, High Court Road (Rest.)

JUBBALPUR
1 Modern Book House, 286, Jawaharganj (Reg.)
2 Popular Book House, Near Omti P.O. (Rest.)

JULLUNDER CITY
1 Jain General House, Bazar Bansanwala (Reg.)
2 Hazoorina Bros,. Mai Hiran Gate (Rest.)
3 University Publishers, Railway Road (Rest.)

JHUNJHUNU (RAJ)
1 Shashi Kumar Sharat Chandra (Rest.)

KANPUR
1 Advani & Co., P. Box 100, The Mall (Reg.)
2 Sahitya Niketan, Sharadhanand Park (Reg.)
3 Universal Book Stall, The Mall (Reg.)

KAPSAN

1 Parkashan Parasaran, 1/90, Namdhar Niwas Azad Marg (Reg.)

KOLAPUR

1 Maharastra Granth Bhandar, Mahadwar Road (Rest.)

KUMTA

1 S. V. Kamat, Booksellers & Stationers (S. Kanara) (Reg.)

LUCKNOW

1 Balkrishna Book Co. Ltd., Hazaratganj (Reg.)
2 British Book Depot, 84, Hazaratganj (Reg.)
3 Eastern Book Co., 34, Lalbagh Road (Reg.)
4 Ram Advani Hazaratganj, P.B. 154 (Reg.)
5 Universal Publishers (P) Ltd., Hazaratganj (Reg.)
6 Acquarium Supply Co., 213, Faizabad Road (Rest.)
7 Civil & Military Educational Stores, 106/B, Sadar Bazar (Rest.)

LUDHIANA

1 Lyall Book Depot, Chura Bazar (Reg.)
2 Mohindra Bros., Katchori Road (Rest.)
3 Nanda Stationary Bhandar, Pustak Bazar (Rest.)
4 The Pharmacy Nes, Pindi street (Rest.)

MADURAI

1 Oriental Book House, 258, West Masi Street (Reg.)
2 Vivekanda Press, 48, West Masi Street (Reg.)

MATHURA

1 Rath & Co., Tilohi Bldg. Bengali Ghat (Rest.)

MADRAS

1 Account Test Institute, P.O. 760, Emgora (Reg.)
2 C. Subbiah Chetty, 62, Big Street, Triplicance (Reg.)
3 K. Krishnamurty, Post Box 384. (Reg.)
4 P. Vrdhachary & Co., 8, Linghi Chetty Street (Reg.)
5 C. Sitaraman & Co., 33, Royapettach High Roaa (Reg.)
6 M. Sachechalam & Co., 14, Bankuram Chetty Street (Rest.)
7 Madras Book Agency (Rest.)
8 Nav Bharat Agencies, 18, Andiappa Street Sadhana Sadan (Rest.)
9 The Rex Trading Co., P. B. 5049, 31 & 32, James Street (Rest.)
10 Mohan Pathippagam & Book Depot, 3, Pyecrafts, Triplicance (Rest.)
11 Naresh Co. 3, Dr. Rangachari Co., Mylapore (Rest.)
12 Reliance Trading Co., 79/10, Shambu Das Street (Reg.)

MANGALORE

1 U. R. Shaneye Sons, Car Street, P. Box 128 (Reg.)
2 K. Bhoga Rao & Co., Kodial Bail (Rest.)

MEERUT

1 Loyal Book Depot, Chhipi Tank (Reg.)
2 Prakash Educational Stores, Subhash Bazar (Reg.)

MUZAFFARNAGAR

1 B. S. Jin & Co., 71, Abupura (Reg.)
2 Gargya & Co., 139 G. New Market (Rest.)

MUZAFFERPUR

1 Scientific & Educational Supply Syndicate (Rest.)

MYSORE

1 H. Vankataramiah & Sons, Krishnarajendra Circle (Reg.)
2 People Book House, Opp. Jagan Mohan Palace (Reg.)
3 Geeta Book House, New State Circle (Reg.)
4 Indian Mercantile Corpn., Ramavilas (Rest.)

MANDSAUR

1 Nahta Bros., Booksellers & Stationers (Rest.)

MUSSOURI

1 Hind Traders, N.A.A. Centre, Dick Road

NAGPUR

1 The Executive Secretary, Mineral Industry Association Mineral House, Near All India Radio Square (Rest.)
2 Western Book Depot, Residency Road (Reg.)

NILGIRIS

1 Mary Martin Booksellers, Kogagiris Madras States (Rest.)

NAINITAL

1 Consal Book Depot, Bara Bazar (Reg.)

NADIAD

1 R. S. Desai, Station Road (Rest.)

NEW DELHI

1 Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus (Reg.)
2 Apki Dukan, 5/5777, Dev Nagar (Reg.)
3 Bhawani & Sons, 8F, Connaught Place (Reg.)
4 Central News Agency, 23/90, Connaughts Circus (Reg.)
5 English Book Stores, 7-1, Connaught Circus, P.O. No. 328 (Reg.)
6 Jain Book Agency, C/9, Prem House, Connaught Place (Reg.)
7. Jayana Book Depot, P.B. 2505, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
8 Luxmi Book Store, 72, Janpath P.O. Box 553 (Reg.)
9 Mehra Bros., 50-G, Kalkaji, New Delhi-19 (Reg.)
10 Navyug Traders, Desh Bandhu Gupta Road, Dev Nagar (Reg.)
11 New Book Depot, Latest Books, Periodicals Sty. P.B. 96, Connaught Place (Reg.)
12 Oxford Book & Stationery Co., Sciendia House (Reg.)
13 Peoples Publishing House (P) Ltd. Rani Jhansi Road (Reg.)
14 Ram Krishna & Sons (of Lahore) 16/B, Connaught Place (Reg.)
15 R. K. Publishers, 23, Beadonpura, Karol Bagh (Reg.)
16 Sharma Bros., 17, New Market, Moti Nagar (Reg.)
17 The Secretary, Indian Met. Society, Lodhi Road (Reg.)
18 Sunjeja Book Centre, 24/90, Connaught Circus (Reg.)

NEW DELHI—*contd.*

19 United Book Agency, 31, Municipal Market, Connaught Circus (Reg.)
20 Hindi Book House, 82, Janpath (Reg.)
21 Lakshmi Book Depot, 57, Ragarpura, Karol Bagh (Rest.)
22 N. C. Kauncal & Co., 40, Model Basti, P. O. Karol Bagh, New Delhi-5 (Rest.)
23 Ravindra Book Agency, 4D/50, Double Storey Lajpat Nagar (Reg.)
24 Sant Ram Booksellers, 16, New Municipal Market, Lodi Colony (Rest.)
25 Subhas Book Depot., Shop No. 111, Central Market Srinispuri (Rest.)
26 The Secretary, Federation of Association of Small Industry of India, 23-B/2, Rohtak Road (Rest.)
27 Glob Publications, C-33, Nizamuddhin East (Reg.)
28 Standard Booksellers & Stationers, Palam Enclave (Rest.)
29 Scientific Instruments Stores, A-355, New Rajender Nagar (Rest.)
30 Shyam Pustak Bhandar, 2819, Arya Samaj Road (Rest.)

PATIALA

1 Jain & Co., 17 Shah Nashim Bazar (Reg.)

PATNA

1 Luxmi Trading Co., Padri ki Haveli (Reg.)
2 J. N. P. Agarwal & Co., Padri ki Haveli (Reg.)
3 Moti Lal Banarsi Dass & Co., Padri ki Haveli (Reg.)
4 Today & Tomorrow Ashok Rajpath (Rest.)

POONA

1 Deccan Book Stall, Deccan Gyamkhana (Reg.)
2 Imperial Book Depot, 286, M. G. Road (Reg.)
3 Sarswat, 67 Patel Flats, 2 Bombay Poona Road (Rest.)
4 International Book Service, Deccan Gyamkhana (Reg.)
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